

The University of Chicago

THE
CITY AND THE PRIMARY GROUP

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE
FACULTY OF THE DIVISION OF THE
SOCIAL SCIENCES IN CANDIDACY FOR
THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

1935

By
MARION WESLEY ROPER

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CHAPTER I

THE PRIMARY GROUP AND THE GROWTH OF THE CITY

Anyone who is familiar, both with the modern city and rural districts, perhaps has been impressed with the differences in intimate personal contacts as revealed by these two types of areas. In rural areas neighbors who live near one another are likely to be intimately acquainted. Views upon various subjects of mutual interest are discussed. Sympathy and even material aid are extended during times of crisis and periods of bereavement. Common feelings and sentiments are shared regarding questions of local group welfare. The relationships in these small rural neighborhoods is quite similar to that in the larger family consisting of parents, children, and relatives in that much is held in common and shared, one member with another. In the city, behavior appears to be more individualized. Neighbors live in adjoining apartments for years without a speaking acquaintance. Exchange of articles or borrowing between those who live near one another is very rare. Interests are diversified. Views on the same topic are likely to be different. Each member of a city neighborhood or community appears to pursue his own interests without the co-operation or interference of those who live near.

This group relationship which is exemplified in rural areas and has an intimate, personal, neighborly nature has been designated the primary group by Professor Cooley. In defining this group Cooley says:

"By primary groups I mean those characterized by intimate face-to-face association and co-operation. They are primary in several senses, but chiefly in that they are fundamental in forming the social nature and ideals of the individual. The result of intimate association, psychologically, is a certain fusion of individualities in a common whole, so that one's very self, for many purposes at least, is the common life and purpose of the group. Perhaps the simplest way of describing this wholeness is by saying that it is a 'we'; it involves the sort of sympathy and mutual identification for which 'we' is the natural expression. One lives in the feeling of the whole and finds the chief aims of his will in that

feeling.¹ The most important spheres of this intimate association and co-operation—though by no means the only ones—are the family, the play group of children, and the neighborhood or community group of elders."²

The primary group as described by Cooley expresses a relationship which is best understood as an "intimate face-to-face association and co-operation," a "fusion of individualities in a common whole," and described by the "we" feeling. The primary group is usually if not always formed upon a face-to-face or proximity basis although after being once formed it may retain its hold upon members even though they be separated. This personal relationship of the primary group is typical of rural neighborhoods and communities, especially those that are more isolated from the city.³

The neighborhood and community relationships in the city appear to be vastly different from those of the rural areas. The term, secondary group, has been used by some students of urban life to designate this relationship. The secondary group relationship is in direct contrast to that of the primary group. The primary group appears to be personal, direct, subjective, emotional, friendly, intimate, and informal. On the other hand the secondary group is impersonal, indirect, objective, non-emotional, unfriendly, aloof, and formal. If the primary group can be characterized by the "we" feeling, then the secondary group may be characterized by the "me" feeling. That is, in the latter case, we have a higher degree of detachment and individualization than exists in the primary group. If the primary group fits the rural area, then the secondary type of organization is typical of the city. The city, however, varies from community to community. It may be that primary groups are formed upon a basis of proximity in some areas of the city and not in others. We can obtain a better picture of the city if we describe its pattern.

The ideal pattern of the city has been presented by Professor Burgess as a series of concentric circles marking off five zones as follows: I. The business area; the center zone; II. The

¹Charles Horton Cooley, Social Organization (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1909), p. 23.

²Ibid., p. 24.

³A very good description of a rural community which exemplifies the rural primary group is found in E. T. Hiller, Faye E. Corner, and W. L. East, Rural Community Types (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1928), pp. 19 ff.

zone in transition; III. Zone of workingmen's homes; IV. Residential zone; V. Commuters' zone.⁴

Zone one, the business center, contains a very mobile section of the population, transients in hotels, the main stem of hobohemia,⁵ and people at their daily task of business and trade who have their homes in other sections of the city. Primary groups are at a minimum here. It is distinctly an area of secondary contacts.

The zone in transition surrounds the business center and is made up of the slums, where poverty, vice, and crime abound; immigrant colonies of the first settlement of foreigners, artist colonies; Chinatown; ghettos; rooming houses. Primary groups occur within the immigrant colonies but these are broken up into small "villages." The primary contacts do not extend over one complete foreign group. Otherwise this is an area of secondary groups.⁶

The zone of workingmen's homes is third from the center of the city. It is populated largely with factory and shop workers, many of them skilled and thrifty, the more successful who have escaped from the slum. It is an area of second settlement, largely of the second generation or those whose parents were foreign born. Primary groups exist here somewhat as they do among the foreigners in the second zone, except that they have been somewhat accommodated to American life and are less likely to have such close intimate groups.

The residential zone is fourth from the center of the city. Here are the homes of the middle class, business and professional people, largely American born. This zone contains the apartment house area, which merges into single homes on the outer edge of the zone. Family life here is the usual American type. Primary groups appear to be much more common than in the second zone, at least outside the foreign groups. The contact is largely secondary, however.

On the outer rim of the city, extending beyond the city limits we find the last zone, that of the commuters.⁷ In this

⁴Robert E. Park, Ernest W. Burgess, et al., The City (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1925), Chap. II.

⁵Cf. Nels Anderson, The Hobo (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1923), pp. 3-57.

⁶Cf. Harvey W. Zorbaugh, The Gold Coast and the Slum (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1929), Chap. I.

⁷This zone is so called because the residents go to and

area we find the single home type of dwelling, many of them very exclusive with spacious grounds. The residents are of the upper class, largely of American heritage for several generations. Primary groups are more common here perhaps than in any other zone of the city except that they are likely to be stratified into economic and social classes, which tends to break up primary groups into cliques and factions.⁸

Some students of the city say that the center of the city is the least primary in its contacts and that the primary contacts increase as one moves from the center outward until there is a gradual merging of the urban and the rural.⁹ This would be true, perhaps, were it not for the foreigners. They seem to reverse the order, having the more simple village type of life in the areas of first settlement near the center. As they move outward and become accommodated to American life they lose the "village" type of primary group organization.

It can be seen from the foregoing brief account of the pattern of the city that there is a variation from zone to zone in the nature of the social organization. It is correct to speak of the city as being characterized by a secondary group type of organization only in the most general terms, for primary groups do exist among the immigrant families, in the residential zone, and in the suburbs.

That we may examine in more detail some of the changes taking place in respect to primary groups in the city, I have selected a community in the residential zone in the city of Chicago for special study. I am using this area only as one would a laboratory in trying to throw light upon the nature of primary and secondary groups in the city environment.

In general, the chief problem of interest in this study is to locate and examine some of the primary group relationships in the city with special reference to an apartment house community; to describe the nature of the secondary group relationships in so far as they have been substituted for the primary ones; and to

from their business or employment in the business center of the city and their home each day, or commute.

⁸Cf. Clarence E. Glick, "Winnetka: A Study of a Residential Suburban Community," p. 100. Master's thesis, University of Chicago, 1928.

⁹Cf. Niles Carpenter, The Sociology of City Life (New York: Longmans Green & Co., 1931), p. 98. Cf. R. D. McKenzie, The Metropolitan Community (New York: McGraw Hill Book Co., 1933), p. 185.

point out some of the effects of these changes in the primary—secondary group relationships upon personality and human nature.

From observation, it would appear that the city is changing much more rapidly than is the rural area. These changes have to do, not only with natural growth and expansion, but with respect to movement from one area to another within the city. Also the invasion of one national or racial group into the area occupied by another causes conflict and a disturbance of community equilibrium. So the city may be thought of as lacking the stability of rural areas. For this reason, we shall examine Hyde Park, the apartment house area being studied, for the conditions making for instability. Since primary groups of the neighborhood or community type must have a stable social environment, then instability should be one cause for their disappearance within the city. We shall be interested in this study in the type of organization which takes the place of primary group relationships in the urban environment.

In small towns and rural areas the primary group relationships often extend completely over the community, and neighborhoods within the community are bound together by even closer personal relationships. What do we find in city neighborhoods in this respect? More specifically, do primary group relationships extend completely over the neighborhoods within Hyde Park community? If primary contacts do exist, on a basis of proximity, do they vary in respect to age groups? For example, do children form primary groups upon a neighborhood basis more readily than do adults? What is the effect of the type of association found in Hyde Park upon personality, especially in the growth of the child?

In small rural towns, institutions, such as the school and the church, bring the members of the community together. Contacts made here are often the same as those made in the neighborhoods and serve only to strengthen primary group relationships. Is this true in the city environment with its complex way of life? In the first place, are primary contacts made through urban institutions within the neighborhoods and communities, and, second, are these contacts the same or in addition to those made upon a basis of proximity within the neighborhoods?

The family is the first primary group or at least the family is in a position to be the first primary group. Whether the family is a primary group or not depends upon whether it maintains the "intimate face-to-face association and co-operation" and expresses the "we" feeling as pointed out by Cooley. Does the primary group relationship exist in urban families? The primary group relationship is expressed in what is known as the affectional function of the family. So by examining the methods of guidance

and control used in training the children in Hyde Park families, I hope to point out some primary relationships expressed through urban family life. We shall also be interested in the extent of family participation as a group in home and outside activities.

Since the informal primary play groups are so important in forming the character and personality of children, we should know more about the nature of the child's leisure-time activities in the city. How do children spend their time in the city? Most of them attend school but this takes only five or six hours, which leaves the time after school, evenings, and two whole days—Saturday and Sunday. The rural child has chores and other work to do on the farm. The city home, with water, heat, light, and other modern conveniences, is lacking in simple tasks for children. It should be important, therefore, to know how the city child spends his leisure time. We shall answer this question in respect to an apartment house area and compare the activities found there with those found in a small rural town.

The city child as well as the rural child begins to have many contacts outside the family at an early age. The contacts in the city may be more formal than those in the country, that is, they are more secondary in nature than in rural areas. These secondary contacts of the city child are numerous and influential in molding habits, attitudes, and personality. The question arises as to the comparative influence of home contacts and contacts outside the home. We shall attempt to answer this question with special reference to occupations. More specifically, we may ask: What is the influence of parents today upon the child's choice of an occupation? Does the parental influence vary from rural areas to urban areas, or even from one urban area to another? Is parental influence today such that boys will choose the occupations of the father? These questions will be answered, first, by data from various cities and small towns and then for specific areas in Chicago.

The kind of control resulting from secondary groups may be thought of as formal control whereas that in primary groups is informal control. Since cities have both secondary and primary groups, they will have both formal and informal control. When the individual has contact with both types of control in the same situation, which is common in the city, then conflicts result. These conflicts between the formal and the informal control have important influences upon the personality of the individual participants. We shall try to explain conflicts of this type in a definite situation in Hyde Park. The situation chosen is that of a high school group. The following questions will point to our central interest: How do rules, regulations, and discipline in

this high school conflict with the attitudes formed by the students in informal relationships? What conflicts arise out of attempts of the students to administer formal control upon themselves? How do political factions, formed through informal groups, conflict with the regulations of the school and the traditions of the student body? What is the effect of these conflicts upon the personality of the students?

From the sociological point of view, personality is the result of contact and interaction in social groups. Since group life in the city varies from that in rural areas, we should find that personality will vary from the one type of area to another. It will be our purpose in this study to point out some of the more general differences between rural and urban personalities.

The procedure in this study will be to consider the general and the more specific problems mentioned above one by one in the chapters which follow. Our first task will be to discuss the instability of the urban environment, first, in its more general aspects, and then, as applied to a specific area in the city of Chicago.

CHAPTER II

DECLINE IN THE STABILITY OF PRIMARY GROUP RELATIONSHIPS IN THE URBAN ENVIRONMENT

Primary group relationships that extend over an area the size of a neighborhood or community appear to function best in an isolated situation where the division of labor is relatively simple and where the cultural and racial constitution of the population is homogeneous. These conditions we find among religious sects, and until recently among the peasants of Europe and in the rural districts of America. Among these isolated groups we find little change of any kind over long periods of time. The social and economic organization remains stable and stability is the prime essential for primary groups. Primary groups of community size thrive in stable isolated areas and die in areas of communication and instability.

Just how stable and unchanging an isolated rural area did remain generation after generation is revealed by the following case from an earlier period of our history:

"The residents of the Hill, from their earliest settlement in 1728 to the time of the Division in 1828 knew no other government than that of the meeting. They accepted no other authority, hoped for public good through no other agency, even read no other literature, than that of the Quaker Monthly Meeting of the Oblong. The Religious meeting House was also the City Hall, State House, and legislature for the patriotism, as it was the focus of the worship and doctrinal activity of this population. . . . For one hundred years a local ethical code prevailed. While they lived apart the Quakers in their community rejoiced in the unbroken sway of a communal code of morals, the obedience to which made for survival and economic success."¹

Among these Quakers the entire control was local, the occupations were very simple, and the cultural and racial constitution

¹Warren H. Wilson, "Quaker Hill," p. 38. Doctor's thesis, Columbia University, 1907. See also: Walter A. Terpenning, Village and Open Country Neighborhoods (New York: Century Co., 1931), p. 187.

was homogeneous--an ideal situation for the primary group.

When we turn from this type of situation to the modern city we find conditions reversed. Instead of isolation we find contact and communication of many new varieties; the division of labor is intricate compared with the country; the cultures are diverse and conflicting as also are the racial situations. If the rural isolated area made for stability then the modern city makes for instability.

Just how unstable the modern city can be, is revealed by the following case in New York City:

"The most striking fact pertaining to aggregation is the great mobility of the people from house to house, combined with the persistency of the same nationality in each house. A study of the accompanying table shows that only fifty per cent of the families live in one house over six months and that only three and three-tenths per cent have been in the block for over five years."²

The same condition is revealed by the case of the Near North Side in Chicago.³ "The constant comings and goings of its inhabitants," says Zorbaugh, "is the most striking and significant characteristic of this world of furnished rooms. This whole population turns over every four months."⁴ The same is true of the Gold Coast and other areas within the Near North Side.⁵

The occupations extend all the way from highly specialized professions on the Gold Coast to simple day labor among the Italians and from highly skilled artists in the artists' colony to simple white collar jobs in the rooming house area. Even the simpler types of work are of so many varieties and kinds that the workers have little in common.

The cultural and racial situation on the Near North Side is one of diversity rather than similarity. The several racial and cultural groups live side by side but with little in common.

We can see, then, that where rural areas are stable, cities are unstable; where there is a simple division of labor in the country, the city has a complexity of occupations; and where the cultural and racial situation in the one is homogeneous, in the other it is heterogeneous. The one is the environment of primary groups, the other of secondary groups.

²Thomas Jesse Jones, The Sociology of a New York City Block, p. 20. Doctor's thesis, Columbia University, 1904.

³Cf. Zorbaugh, The Gold Coast and the Slum, Chap. I.

⁴Ibid., p. 71.

⁵Ibid., p. 67.

The process that makes for instability in the city as contrasted with the country is mobility. Whereas the rural areas are relatively static and immobile, the city is dynamic and mobile. By mobility we mean not only movement from place to place but also the "number and variety of stimulations to which the individual or population responds."⁶ In the rural areas the "number and variety of stimulations" are very much more limited when compared with the city. Movement does exist in the country but movement in itself does not necessarily mean mobility for it may lack stimulation as in routine movement. "Movement that is significant for growth implies a change of movement in response to a new stimulus or situation."⁷ Routine movement is more common in the rural community because the situation is relatively more simple than in the city and each individual is more likely to know the total situation.

These, then, are the general differences between rural and urban areas in respect to contact and isolation, division of labor, race, and culture. We saw that the differences in stability were due to the differences in mobility. But what do we find within the city itself from zone to zone or from one type of area to another? Do different areas of the city vary in stability and mobility?

Briefly stated, it appears that the most mobile area in the city is the central business zone and that mobility decreases as one moves radially outward to the periphery.⁸ But it is not all so simple as this for it is undoubtedly true that certain outlying areas in the commuters' zone are quite mobile, whereas some of the immigrant areas near the business center are comparatively immobile.

If we take land values as an index of mobility,⁹ we find

⁶Park and Burgess, The City, p. 17.

⁷Ibid., p. 58.

⁸Professor McKenzie says: "Measured by almost any index, the city shows a tendency toward increasing wholesomeness and social stability with distance from the center" (The Metropolitan Community, p. 185).

⁹Professor Burgess says: "Land values, since they reflect movement, afford one of the most sensitive indexes of mobility. . . . Our investigations so far seem to indicate that variations in land values, especially where correlated with differences in rents, offer perhaps the best single measure of mobility and so of all the changes taking place in the expansion and growth of the city" (Park and Burgess, The City, p. 61).

the highest land values and therefore the greatest mobility in the business center. Land values seem to decrease in general as one moves radially outward from the business center¹⁰ with peaks¹¹ here and there, as at the sub-business centers or "Satellite Loops." These are centers of retail business and recreation lying about one-half the distance from the center to the outer edge of the city. The "Satellite Loops" are undoubtedly centers of mobility somewhat akin to the main business center, for, at least in some respects, they are likely to appeal to the people of the whole city, as in recreation. The "Satellite Loops" are high points of mobility in the residential zone. The most mobile population in the city are located near the rapid transit lines. These radiate from the main business center in all directions and pass through the "Satellite Loops." The pie-shaped areas in between the rapid transit lines are likely to be populated by less mobile population. Here we will find some of the immigrant colonies of the first and second settlements.

The apartment house area houses a great number of people who must have rapid transportation. In fact, rapid transportation seems to be a determining factor in producing an apartment area as it does in other types of residential areas.¹² On the other hand, the apartment house area is an area of stable family life and therefore, in so far as the wives do not work outside the home, will have a part of the population that is less mobile, the women and children.

That we may examine in more detail the stability of the apartment house area in the city, I have chosen for special study one community within this area in Chicago. The area is known as Hyde Park. I hope to examine some of the factors and forces in this community that reflect urban stability and instability and

¹⁰See: Thomas Adams, et al., "Population, Land Values and Government," Regional Survey of New York and its Environs, Vol. II (New York, 1929), Plate 3, p. 146, and Plates 5 and 6, p. 150.

¹¹In regard to land values the Report says: "Values do not, however, grade evenly from the center to the circumference. In every part of the New York region, for instance, there are local conditions or tendencies that produce local variations in value. The street system, the transit facilities, the types of buildings, and many other influences operate in causing these variations" (ibid., p. 133).

¹²Thomas Adams et al., say in quoting Mr. Daniel L. Turner: "that population in New York City had constantly followed the rapid transit lines throughout the entire 55 years that such facilities had been in use" (ibid., p. 152).

which in turn will throw some light upon the primary group situation in this type of area.

Hyde Park is located on Lake Michigan from six to seven miles south of the Loop¹³ and about one mile east. It is bounded on the north by Hyde Park Boulevard, on the west by Cottage Grove Avenue and Washington Park, on the south by the Midway, and on the east by Lake Michigan and Jackson Park. It has an area of about one and one-half square miles.

Hyde Park is set off or isolated from other nearby sections of Chicago by artificial barriers on two sides and by a natural barrier on the third. I speak here of Washington Park on the west and the Midway on the south as the artificial barriers, and Lake Michigan as the natural barrier on the east. The Midway, extending along the south border of Hyde Park, is the width of a whole city block, the block between Fifty-ninth and Sixtieth Streets. The two one-way boulevards on the Midway carry heavy traffic. This, with the great width, sets Hyde Park off from Woodlawn to the south.

Hyde Park Boulevard, to the north, is the width of an ordinary street but it carries heavy traffic¹⁴ and for this reason tends to divide Hyde Park from Kenwood on the north. The local business center for Kenwood is along Forty-seventh Street and Lake Park Avenue north of Hyde Park Boulevard, whereas the business center for the south side of the boulevard is on Fifty-third Street and Lake Park Avenue.

Hyde Park, therefore, at least geographically, is set off from other sections of Chicago and can be said to have an individuality of its own in this respect. Geographically we can classify Hyde Park as a natural area. "A natural area is a geographical area characterized both by physical individuality and by the culture characteristics of the people who live in it."¹⁵ It remains to be seen to what extent Hyde Park has peculiar cultural characteristics. This will be considered in another part of this chapter.

Hyde Park's isolation from other communities near it with its location at a sufficient distance from, but with easy and rapid accessibility to, business and industrial areas makes it a

¹³The retail business center of Chicago, centering at State and Madison Streets.

¹⁴Leif Ericson Drive now releases some of the heavy traffic formerly carried entirely by Hyde Park Boulevard.

¹⁵Harvey W. Zorbaugh, "The Natural Areas of the City," Publications of the American Sociological Society, XX (December, 1925), 192.

desirable residential area. About seven miles north is the Loop. To the south, an equal distance, are the steel mills and a few miles west we find the stock-yards and a great manufacturing district. Again, Hyde Park's position on Lake Michigan with its bathing and boating facilities and its nearness to two of Chicago's largest parks where golf and other games may be enjoyed, gives the community recreational advantages not enjoyed by many other communities in Chicago. As it has been since the beginning of Hyde Park, the most rapid transportation is still the Illinois Central Railroad, which passes through the community near the eastern border separating the hotel section of Hyde Park from the remainder. The Illinois Central runs over four hundred suburban trains daily to and from the Loop. Electrification during the last few years has given a cleaner and faster service. A branch, a few miles south of Hyde Park, connects the steel mills with the main line of the road. Transportation to the stock-yards is not so good, there being only street cars or busses. For private automobile or taxi, Drexel, Hyde Park Boulevards, the Midway, and Leif Ericson Drive give easy access to the Loop and to the south. Geographically Hyde Park is well located for residences.

In fact, Hyde Park may be classified as a residential area of the apartment house type. The business sections, which are located along Fifty-third, Fifty-fifth, Fifty-seventh Streets and Lake Park Avenue, supply only local needs. The garages along Cottage Grove, or Lake Park and Harper Avenues make the nearest approach to industries and these supply only local needs. No theaters or dance halls draw people to Hyde Park from wide areas as is done by the "Satellite Loops" at Cottage Grove and at Halsted on Sixty-third Street. It is true that Hyde Park has the largest hotel center on the South Side but these hotels are still predominantly residential and not transient hotels.

The type of building is predominantly the apartment.¹⁶ Some single dwellings still remain but many of these are old frame buildings located between new apartments where they will be displaced in the near future if the population continues to grow. The highest class single dwelling area still remaining is located on University Avenue between Fifty-second and Fifty-fourth Streets and south of Fifty-sixth Street on University, Woodlawn, and Kimbark Avenues. On the whole, the section north of Fifty-fifth

¹⁶A conservative estimation is that 85 to 90 per cent of the people in Hyde Park are housed in apartments or apartment hotels.—From an interview with Realtor, 1928, and from map showing distribution of apartments and single residences.

Street is much more predominantly apartment houses than is the section south of Fifty-fifth Street surrounding the University of Chicago.¹⁷ The section along the lake shore east of the Illinois Central Railroad is an area of either apartments or apartment hotels. It is rapidly becoming the latter.

From the preceding description of the location, the nature of the housing, the lack of industries, the lack of city or section wide¹⁸ business establishments or recreational facilities, we can see that Hyde Park is a residential area which is not at all self-sustaining. It is therefore dependent upon the other sections of the city, which, of course, is true of any urban area. Urban communities are interdependent. The fact that Hyde Park is not a self-sustaining community means that many interests are located outside the area and that many people are following occupations that otherwise would not exist in an area of this size unless it were located in a larger community, the city. This interdependence of Hyde Park and other communities with the city of Chicago makes for much mobility and the result is lack of stability in social organization. This is especially disturbing to the primary group, for we have learned earlier in this chapter that primary groups thrive best in comparatively unchanging communities. Before we analyze further the occupations and the mobility in Hyde Park, we should know something about the nature of the population, for the make-up of the population has considerable to do with the stability of the community. For example, native-born Americans are likely to be more mobile than are first settlement immigrant colonies and a population made up largely of single men is likely to be more mobile than a community of families.

Table I gives us several facts that are related to our problem. In the first place the total population is far too large for one continuous primary group.¹⁹ Even if we were considering one city this size and not a section of a larger city, the number would make one primary group impossible. If we find primary groups in Hyde Park they necessarily must be smaller groups within

¹⁷Judged from map, "Apartment House Distribution," Social Science Research, University of Chicago.

¹⁸"Section wide" has reference to a larger area than a local community. For example, the residents from many communities will trade at a "Satellite Loop" center. The trade area surrounding a "Satellite Loop" might be termed a section of the city.

¹⁹The population of Hyde Park for 1920 was 37,676, giving an increase of 10,341 or 27.4 per cent from 1920 to 1930.

TABLE I

POPULATION BY COLOR, NATIVITY, SEX, AND AGE FOR HYDE PARK, 1930*

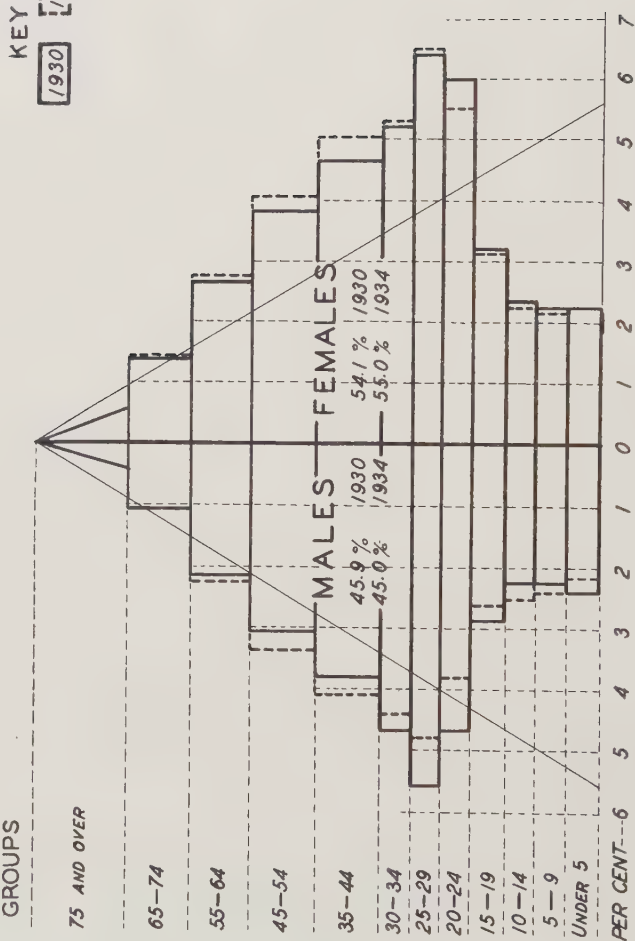
	Total	Male	Female
Total population	48,017	22,051	25,966
Native white			
Native parentage	21,806	10,120	11,686
Foreign or mixed parentage	15,726	6,954	8,772
Foreign-born white	9,666	4,550	5,116
Negro	521	197	324
Other races	298	230	68
Age distribution			
Under 5 years	2,282	1,158	1,124
5 - 9 "	2,208	1,103	1,105
10 - 14 "	2,274	1,118	1,156
15 - 19 "	2,889	1,367	1,522
20 - 24 "	5,163	2,269	2,894
25 - 29 "	5,724	2,675	3,049
30 - 34 "	4,752	2,240	2,512
35 - 44 "	8,197	3,686	4,511
45 - 54 "	6,602	2,934	3,668
55 - 64 "	4,655	2,126	2,529
65 - 74 "	2,338	1,010	1,328
75 " and over	877	338	539
Unknown	56	27	29

*U. S. Bureau of Census, 1930. The data for Hyde Park and other community areas in Chicago were taken from: Ernest W. Burgess and Charles Newcomb, Census Data of Chicago, 1930 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1933).

the larger total population. Hyde Park has nearly ten thousand foreign born. This helps to produce a heterogeneous culture and therefore not so friendly to primary groups. Married people are more stable than single people; therefore, from the fact that we find nearly four thousand more women than men over twenty years of age in Hyde Park we can expect less stability than if the population were evenly divided.

Chart I shows that Hyde Park has a large percentage of the population from the ages of twenty to about sixty among both sexes, with a low percentage of those below twenty and above sixty-five years of age. From 1930 to 1934, a decrease has taken place among

CHART 1



* 1930 DATA TAKEN FROM TABLE I "CENSUS DATA OF CITY OF CHICAGO, 1930"
1934 " " " 4 " " " " "

those under the age of thirty and an increase among those from thirty to sixty-five. Apparently the depression has hastened the change in Hyde Park to an area of older people. Since, as we will see later, the children form primary groups more readily than adults, Hyde Park should be lower in this respect than are communities where the adults and children are more evenly divided.

Table II gives us data for Hyde Park and three other communities in Chicago with similar data from the whole city of Chicago and the United States. These data, being on a percentage basis, permit us to make several significant comparisons. Of the three other communities presented, the South Shore is in the apartment house area and is quite similar to Hyde Park, as the data show. New City is a residential community in the Stockyards region having many single homes and small apartments. The population is highly foreign, there being only 18 per cent native white with native parentage, whereas Hyde Park has nearly half its population this type. The Near North Side is the only community presented here that lies partially in the slum or zone two in the city pattern. The others all lie farther out in the residential zone.

A few of the conclusions that may be drawn from Table II are as follows: Hyde Park has a higher percentage of native white population than the Nation as a whole, than the city of Chicago, or the other communities presented with the exception of the South Shore. The percentage of foreign born is lower than the city of Chicago, New City, or Near North Side but higher than the South Shore. The percentage of Negroes is much lower than the Nation, Chicago, or the Near North Side but higher than the South Shore or New City. Compared with the Nation, Chicago, and other communities, Hyde Park has fewer children under fifteen years of age and more adults forty-five years of age or older. New City, in comparison, is a community of younger people, whereas Hyde Park is a community of older people. The Near North Side has a low percentage of children due, perhaps, to the large rooming-house area populated by single people.

When Table II is compared with similar data from the 1920 census, we find that Hyde Park has changed as follows in regard to the various classes of the population:

1. A slight decrease in native white population.
2. A considerable decrease in native white population of native parentage.
3. An increase among those of foreign or mixed parentage.
4. An increase of the foreign born.
5. A decrease of the Negro.
6. A growth toward a community of older people.

TABLE II

POPULATION BY COLOR, NATIVITY, AND AGE FOR UNITED STATES,
CHICAGO, AND SELECTED COMMUNITIES BY PERCENTAGES, 1930*

	United States	Chi- cago	Hyde Park	South Shore	New City	Near North Side
Total population	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Native white	77.8	67.4	78.2	83.1	68.2	67.3
Native parentage	57.1	27.9	45.4	47.5	18.4	35.8
Foreign or mixed parentage	20.7	39.5	32.8	35.6	49.8	31.5
Foreign-born white	10.9	24.9	20.1	16.6	29.3	26.4
Negro	9.7	6.9	1.1	0.2	0.1	5.4
Other races	1.6	0.7	0.6	0.1	2.5	1.0
Age distribution						
Under 5 years	9.3	7.6	4.7	6.5	9.2	5.3
5 - 9 "	10.3	8.1	4.6	6.2	11.0	5.5
10 - 14 "	9.8	8.4	4.7	5.8	12.5	5.4
15 - 19 "	9.4	8.7	6.1	6.6	10.9	6.4
20 - 24 "	8.9	9.6	10.7	9.2	9.1	10.1
25 - 29 "	8.0	9.8	12.0	11.0	7.2	11.6
30 - 34 "	7.4	9.2	9.9	10.6	7.2	10.1
35 - 44 "	14.0	17.3	17.1	18.5	16.4	18.8
45 - 54 "	10.6	11.1	13.7	12.9	9.3	14.3
55 - 64 "	6.8	6.2	9.7	7.9	4.6	8.1
65 - 74 "	3.8	3.1	4.9	3.7	2.2	3.5
75 " and over	1.6	0.9	1.8	1.1	0.6	0.8
Unknown	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.2

*U. S. Bureau of Census, 1930. See footnote, Table I.
See Appendix A, p. 183.

The South Shore shows a change almost opposite to Hyde Park. That is, an increase of those of a native white parentage and a decrease of foreign born. The movement of the population of native parentage appears to be from a community like Hyde Park to a newer community like South Shore. The foreign born or a population with foreign or mixed parentage appears to be taking the place of the native white in Hyde Park.²⁰

²⁰Data from the 1934 census of Chicago show that the decrease of the native white of native parentage and the increase of

Although Hyde Park has a high proportion of native white and native parentage population for a city the size of Chicago, the change from 1920 to 1930 indicates a decrease in that proportion and a growth toward a more heterogeneous population. This makes for less stability and a decrease in primary group relationships. The fact that Hyde Park is a community of older people might make for more stability were it not for the fact that there are fewer children growing up to carry on the traditions.

Table III shows the composition of the national elements of the foreign born and the foreign or mixed parentage in Hyde Park for 1930. The largest groups appear to be from Germany, Russia, Irish Free State, and England and Wales in the order named. From other information it would appear that the German and Russian groups are largely Jewish.

When items in Table III are combined on a new basis, we arrive at Table IV. Table IV indicates that about 35 per cent of the foreign born and the foreign and mixed parentage are either of English speaking extraction or are from other countries of Northwestern Europe. When this number is added to the 45 per cent native parentage group, we have about 80 per cent of the population of Hyde Park composed of a culture that is similar to that of traditional America. A similar table for 1920 shows about 87 per cent in this class. This would substantiate the point made above that there is a substitution of the group with a different culture for those of the more traditional American culture. This, again, indicates a growth in Hyde Park toward a more heterogeneous population, a less stable one, and one that tends toward a further break down of primary groups.

Since the Jewish population is strongly foreign born or of foreign parentage and since they are segregated due to religious and cultural reasons, they deserve a more detailed statement here. The cultural conflict between the Jew and Gentile, again, disturbs the community equilibrium and breaks down the primary group relationships over large areas.

The United States Census does not include an enumeration

foreign born in Hyde Park have been reversed. The data for 1934 show an increase of the native white of native parentage and a decrease of the foreign born. Whether this is a temporary change due to the depression or a more permanent change is not known. Logically, it would appear to be the former (see Table IX, p. 49). The 1934 census data of Chicago were taken from Charles S. Newcomb and Richard O. Lang, Census Data of the City of Chicago: 1934 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1934).

TABLE III

FOREIGN BORN WHITE AND NATIVE WHITE POPULATION OF FOREIGN OR
MIXED PARENTAGE BY COUNTRY OF BIRTH AND COUNTRY OF BIRTH
OF PARENTS FOR HYDE PARK, 1930*

Country of Birth	Foreign Born	Foreign or Mixed Parentage	Total
Total	9,666	15,726	25,392
England and Wales	785	1,313	2,098
Scotland	289	416	705
Northern Ireland	126	255	381
Irish Free State	995	1,575	2,570
Norway	105	231	336
Sweden	848	802	1,650
Denmark	125	166	291
Netherlands	54	125	179
Belgium	150	81	231
Switzerland	52	101	153
France	123	259	382
Germany	1,513	4,256	5,769
Poland	609	986	1,595
Czechoslovakia	263	363	626
Austria	267	434	701
Hungary	270	412	682
Jugoslavia	88	48	136
Russia	1,150	1,864	3,014
Lithuania	258	355	613
Finland	21	19	40
Roumania	139	132	271
Greece	160	102	262
Italy	91	170	261
Canada (French)	43	130	173
Canada (Other)	817	834	1,651
All Other	325	297	622

* U. S. Bureau of Census, 1930. See footnote, Table I.

for religious groups. For this reason, no data are available from that source for the Jewish population. We must go to other sources for this information. One method for arriving at the distribution and movement of the Jewish people is to spot the membership of various religious organizations upon a map of the area

TABLE IV

ENGLISH SPEAKING AND OTHER NORTHWESTERN EUROPEAN PEOPLES IN
THE FOREIGN BORN AND FOREIGN OR MIXED PARENTAGE BY
NUMBERS AND PERCENTAGES IN HYDE PARK, 1930*

	Total	English Speaking	Other North- west European	South and East European	All Others
Number					
Foreign born	9,666	3,055	2,970	3,316	325
Foreign and mixed . .	15,726	4,523	6,023	4,885	297
Total	25,392	7,578	8,991	8,201	622
Percentages					
Foreign born	100.0		31.6	30.7	3.4
Foreign or mixed . .	100.0	28.8	38.3	31.1	1.9
Total	100.0	29.8	35.4	32.3	2.4
Percentages of Total Population					
Foreign born	20.1	6.4	6.2	6.9	0.7
Foreign or mixed . .	32.8	9.4	12.5	10.2	0.6
Total	52.9	15.8	18.7	17.1	1.3

*U. S. Bureau of Census. See footnote, Table I.

being studied. This has been done for three Jewish temples, Sinai K. A. M., and Isaiah, whose membership extend into Hyde Park, and a rather accurate idea of the distribution of the membership of a fourth group, Rodfe Zedek Congregation, has been obtained from an interview.

The membership of Sinai, K. A. M., and Isaiah have about the same distribution. They are scattered along the boulevards, chiefly Hyde Park Boulevard, from Drexel Boulevard to Jackson Park. Each of these temples shows about one-third of its membership along this boulevard. This is more remarkable when we note that Sinai Temple is located at Forty-sixth Street and Grand Boulevard, entirely outside of Hyde Park. K. A. M. is much closer, being located at Fiftieth Street and Drexel Boulevard. Isaiah is located at Greenwood and Hyde Park Boulevard. Other boulevards represented by a large number of members are Michigan, Grand, and South Park south of Forty-seventh and Drexel south of Forty-third. From the map it looks as though from 80 to 90 per cent of the membership

of these temples is located along these boulevards. It is of interest to note that all the temples are also on boulevards.

The areas not on boulevards chiefly represented in these distributions are Kenwood south of Forty-seventh, Hyde Park as far south as Fifty-fourth Place, in the old Washington Park race track district south of Washington Park, and in the South Shore district south of Jackson Park.

The movement of the members of these temples is toward the south and east following the boulevards. Since the early history of Chicago these temples have been moved and re-established several times along the way from the Loop to their present locations.²¹ At present very few members of Sinai live within a mile of the temple which was the center of their population when built. The chief reason for the movement south is the invasion of the Negroes.²² Along with this goes the deterioration of the old neighborhoods and the gaining of sufficient wealth by the members to demand more modern homes in the new apartment hotel areas to the south. Land values would indicate that rents on Hyde Park Boulevard have a rather gradual rise beginning at Drexel and ending at Jackson Park. People along this boulevard are progressively selected, as one goes east and south, according to their ability to pay more rent and maintain a higher standard of living. Regarding this general movement of the Jew, Dr. Wirth says, "The latest avenue of escape from the ghetto is represented by the rapid influx of Jews into the apartment and residential hotels of the city, particularly of Hyde Park and the North Shore."²³ To give a better idea of the number living in hotels in Hyde Park, I have made Table V from the maps of church membership mentioned above. The membership for Isaiah Temple is for 1925 while the other two memberships are for the year 1927.

Since a membership in the Jewish church represents the head of the family only, we are safe in estimating the total people represented in the five residential hotels at three times the number given or over 1,200. A student who studied one of the hotels named in Table V stated that it had a majority of Jews in residence.

The Rodfe Zedek Congregation is located at Greenwood and Fifty-fourth Place. The members are composed of the "conservative"

²¹Louis Wirth, The Ghetto, p. 192. Doctor's thesis, University of Chicago, 1928. See also pp. 179, 186, 202, 203.

²²Dr. R. D. McKenzie discusses the subject of invasion in Park and Burgess, The City, p. 74. See also Wirth, op. cit., p. 251.

²³Ibid., p. 281.

TABLE V

JEWISH RESIDENTS IN HYDE PARK HOTELS

Hotel	Sinai	Isaiah	K.A.M.	Total
Chicago Beach	80	36	13	129
Windermere	73	22	13	108
Cooper-Carlton	51	11	13	75
East End	26	22	7	55
Shoreland	27	. . .	25	52
Total	257	91	71	419

type which is between the orthodox type and the reformed. The difference between these three groups is largely one of a difference in ritualistic and ceremonial procedure. The other three temples mentioned above are of the reformed type and the membership comes mainly from the German Jews. Rodfe Zedek Congregation comes mainly from the Russian Jews. This group is made up of 225 members representing about 500 individuals. Practically the whole membership is located in Hyde Park, not over twenty-five living outside. They live largely north of Fifty-fifth Street surrounding the church and extending over into the hotel section where many of them live.

This group has come into Hyde Park since 1900. The present church building is only about three years old but previously services were held in another building near by. The group was granted a charter in 1899 and had a building on Forty-eighth and Michigan. So again we have a case of the movement of a whole church membership from one locality to another. They have moved out of the area being settled by Negroes and into an area settled by white Americans and largely Gentiles. A few Spanish Jews living on Fifty-fifth Street send their children to religious services at this church. They are usually economically poorer than the Russian Jew, I was informed. Over half of the members of Rodfe Zedek Congregation are American born.²⁴

The four religious groups mentioned above had, when the maps were made, 1,292 members living in Hyde Park Community. If

²⁴From an interview with Mrs. Glaser, the secretary of Rodfe Zedek Congregation.

we count 193 additional members living on the north side of Hyde Park Boulevard we have 1,485 members. Multiplying this number by three, we obtain 4,455 individuals represented by these organizations. This number undoubtedly does not represent all Jews in Hyde Park, for other temples and congregations may have members living here, for the maps show that members will travel long distances to church. Then many Jews may not be members of any Jewish church. Dr. Wirth says: "There is a strong drift on the part of the Jews in this city to the Christian Science churches, to Unitarianism, to Ethical Culture and Rationalism, not to speak of Agnosticism and Atheism."²⁵ This "drift" is more likely to be found among the reformed type, which makes up the larger number of those found in Hyde Park.

It will be of interest to know in this study to what extent the Jews of Hyde Park have a culture of their own or to what extent they can be recognized as different. Are they conspicuous? Dr. Wirth calls this movement of the Jewish people, "the flight from the Ghetto,"²⁶ and says:

"As he emerges from the Ghetto the Jew loses his distinctive personal appearance. This change in facial expression and in bearing is most apparent in the young people. The second generation becomes self-assertive, straightens out its spine, and lifts its head."²⁷

This is true of the areas of second settlement, and even though the Jew has freed himself of much of the culture of the ghetto he soon finds himself in a new ghetto, a changed ghetto it is true, but still a ghetto. Then those who have more contact with the American culture, become dissatisfied and move on to areas of third settlement. Hyde Park's Jewish population is made up of this latter group. This is especially true of the reformed group. The conservative group, which is in the minority, belongs in the second stage, perhaps.

To what extent is there conflict between the Jew and Gentile in Hyde Park? In a number of family studies, of both Jew and Gentile, several revealed that the chief dislike of Hyde Park was due to the large number of Jews living there. Others said that they had moved from the section west of Washington Park to escape the Jew and the Negro and that Hyde Park would be as bad in a few years. In a study made in one of the hotels of Hyde Park where there was a majority of Jews, it was revealed that the Jews and Gentiles in this hotel sat in different parts of the dining room

²⁵ Op. cit., p. 285.

²⁶ Ibid., Chap. XII.

²⁷ Ibid., p. 276.

during meal time, and tended to congregate in separate groups in the lobby.²⁸ In one of the high schools the students made no discrimination between Jew and Gentile on the football team nor in class elections but in social functions there was considerable segregation.²⁹ One of the teachers in the grade school stated that the Jewish children were quite clannish.³⁰ The hotel section is facetiously called "Jew Row" and the high school mentioned above is called "Jew-high."

One of the Gentile women, who had contact chiefly with the conservative Jews, stated that she would not have a bay-window in her apartment because she did not want a "Jew show case." The same woman stated that she "was not going to have ignorant Jews telling her what to do in parent-teachers' association." "Why," she continued, "one of the dirty little brats on Fifty-fifth Street deliberately spit on my little girl the other day."³¹

On the other hand, many Gentiles spoke well of the Jews and said they had many friends among them. The following is the statement of a Gentile working woman:

"I have worked for many Jewish women in their homes in Hyde Park doing house-work; catering for parties, pre-nuptials, dinners, luncheons; caring for their children; and many different tasks they have wanted to hire done. I am a Catholic. I have in every instance been treated fair and paid promptly and without any question whatever regarding the wage I asked. I have always been treated with respect by the parents and the children and the elderly people or grand-parents if they lived with the children. I have seen many traits in the Jewish families that I have not seen in many Gentile families concerning their family life; one is the respect and care tendered the father and mother of my employers. If the old parents are living in the home they are taken care of and shown the greatest respect by all the family, they are helped first at the table, and are recognized first in every little ceremony whatever that may be. There is no complaint about the children having to 'keep' the parents by either the man or his wife as in many families among my acquaintances. As far as I could learn, the children expected to care for their parents in their old age. Whether this is universal among the Jewish

²⁸Hotel study by Miss Jane Newberger.

²⁹From an unpublished study of the high school by the author.

³⁰From an interview.

³¹From a family interview.

race I do not know but it is true in the many families I have worked for in Hyde Park."³²

Others made very praiseworthy statements about the Jews but it is evident that the Jew is still conspicuous for even in the case where he was liked he was at the same time recognized as a Jew. Other statements showed clearly that there was dislike and cultural conflict. This cultural conflict tends to drive out the population already in Hyde Park and replace it with Jewish people. This causes more mobility and thus more social disorganization, instability, and a disturbance of old neighborhoods. This might in time produce new primary groups among the Jewish people were it not for the fact that they themselves are a very mobile people.

Since 1920 the Negro population in Hyde Park has been decreasing. In 1920 Hyde Park had 740 Negroes or 2.2 per cent of the total population while in 1930 the number was 521 or 1.1 per cent of the total population. During the same period Chicago increased from 4.1 per cent Negro population to 6.9 per cent. The Negro population in Hyde Park is so small compared with the total population that we need give it little space in this study, for it causes little conflict that would tend to move the white people out and thus be a disturbing factor to the community. The threat of the Negroes just after the World War to move into Hyde Park was stopped either by bombings of Negro homes or by the organization of real estate dealers and property owners in an agreement not to sell or rent to Negroes.³³ The few Negroes who live in Hyde Park are segregated into several undesirable areas chiefly on Lake Park Avenue and Harper Avenue near Fifty-fifth Street and to some extent on Ingleside Avenue near Fifty-fifth Street.

About half of the children in Hyde Park are located in the Fifty-fifth Street area.³⁴ This area is two blocks wide, extending from Fifty-fourth Place to Fifty-sixth Street and from Washington Park to the lake. It contains about one-fourth the area of Hyde Park. Within this area the children are largely concentrated in the section from Lake Park Avenue west to Cottage Grove and especially in a strip one-half block on either side of Fifty-fifth Street.

³²From an interview.

³³See: Negro in Chicago (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1922), pp. 116-27.

³⁴This fact was determined by constructing spot maps showing the residence location of every child in the Kozminski public school, the Ray public school, and the St. Thomas Catholic school for the year 1925.

The area south of Fifty-sixth Street from University Avenue to Dorchester Avenue and the "Hotel Coast"³⁵ section have comparatively very few children.

The distribution of the children in the community is directly related to the problem of recreation and delinquency. These in turn are related to this study of primary groups, for it is during leisure hours that the children are likely to meet in friendly intercourse either in innocent pastime or play that leads to delinquency. The former may help to mold the children into primary groups, or, as we shall see in later chapters, tend to form friendly contacts among the parents, especially the mothers.³⁶

As far as child life is concerned, Hyde Park has made little public provision for recreation within the limits of the community with the exception of the public school playgrounds. Semi-public provision is made by the community Y.M.C.A. located on Fifty-third Street, the Neighborhood Club on Fifty-sixth Street, and by several of the churches in the organization of Boy Scout and Girl Scout troops and other activities for children.³⁷ Apartments and hotels have now taken most of the open spaces once available for play. Children are forced to play in streets or alleys. Jackson and Washington Parks are too great a distance for most of the children.³⁸ Commercialized recreation is provided by several small movie houses on Fifty-fifth Street, Harper Avenue, Lake Park Avenue, and a larger one, The Piccadilly, on Fifty-first Street.

With the exception of the movie theaters, the Fifty-fifth Street area has the poorest provision for recreation of any of the sections of Hyde Park. When we consider the fact that half the children live in this area we can see why this is also the area of delinquency. Most of the delinquent cases coming before the Juvenile Court during the years 1900 to 1927 lived on or near Fifty-fifth Street.³⁹

³⁵Section east of Illinois Central Railroad tracks on Lake Michigan.

³⁶See infra, Chap. III.

³⁷See Recreational Survey of Hyde Park made by the Neighborhood Club under the direction of Mary B. Daniel, March, 1934.

³⁸A spot map of the residences of members of the Neighborhood Club showed that 90 per cent of them came from a distance of one and one-half blocks. Other studies have shown that small children will not go more than two blocks for play facilities except on rare occasions.

³⁹See, Clifford R. Shaw, Delinquency Areas (Chicago: Uni-

Hyde Park being an apartment house area has fewer gangs than do areas in the slum districts; however, the few that do exist here are located on Fifty-fifth Street or Lake Park Avenue. Dr. Thrasher, in his study of gangs, located thirteen in Hyde Park, all except one on these streets.⁴⁰

In another respect the Fifty-fifth Street—Lake Park Avenue zone is set off from the remainder of the community. This is in respect to poverty cases. Between 1920 and 1925 one hundred forty-two families living in Hyde Park received aid from the United Charities of Chicago. Eighty-two per cent of these families were from the area mentioned above, and 50 per cent actually had their homes facing these business streets. During the period from 1921 to 1925, ninety individuals in Hyde Park gave funds to

versity of Chicago Press, 1929), Maps, pp. 36, 54, 66, 74, 102, 118, 152, 168. Also: Map at the Social Science Research Building, University of Chicago. These maps show that about three-fourths of the younger boy and girl delinquents came from the Fifty-fifth Street area.

⁴⁰Dr. Thrasher calls the Fifty-fifth Street and Lake Park Avenue area an "interstitial zone." He says: "In addition to the three major divisions of gangland certain boundary lines and borderlands between the nongang areas of the city develop gangs. Threads of social disintegration tend to follow alongside rivers, canals, railroad tracks, and business streets whose borders are manifestly undesirable for residential purposes and permit gangs to thrive in the interstices between very good residence areas.

"In Hyde Park, one of the best residential districts in the city, there are a number of gangs along the business streets and in the sections adjacent to the Illinois Central Railroad. On Fifty-fifth Street, where a rather heterogeneous, congested population lives above the stores and behind the business buildings, we find about a dozen gangs, including the 'Kenwoods,' who have been a problem in the community for years. On Lake Park Avenue the situation is similar; on Forty-seventh Street are the 'Bat Eyes,' while Sixty-third has the 'Dirty Dozen.'

"These interstitial areas formerly comprised a saloon district with, it is said, a gang in every two blocks. One of these, meeting on Lake Park Avenue, had a cave with a sub-cellar used for keeping stolen goods and discipline where members sat in solemn conclave, each in his appointed place. About fifty boys were included in the group" (Frederic M. Thrasher, The Gang [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1927], p. 19).

the United Charities. Only 20 per cent of these individuals had their homes in the Fifty-fifth Street—Lake Park Avenue zone. Eighty per cent of the contributors were located outside the zone and 82 per cent of the receivers of aid were located within the zone.⁴¹

The fact that delinquency, gangs, and poverty have existed on Fifty-fifth Street has made this area the "problem" of the community. In fact, these problems and the threatened invasion of the Negroes have been about the only situations that have brought any concerted action on the part of the community in recent years. This is of interest because it shows that some community feeling still exists in Hyde Park. This much community feeling does not exist in the Near North Side area.⁴²

Attempts of the community leaders to meet the problems on Fifty-fifth Street have been by forming a Boys' Republic, a branch Y.M. and Y.W.C.A., a Neighborhood Club, and the recreational work of several churches. The Boys' Republic and the Y.M. and Y.W.C.A. have disappeared from Fifty-fifth Street, and the Neighborhood Club has moved from Fifty-fifth Street to Fifty-sixth Street and Dorchester Avenue, where they have enlarged their functions to include older children and adults.⁴³ They include children from, not only Fifty-fifth Street, but also the whole community.⁴⁴

In a small, isolated rural community the division of labor is very simple. Men work at simple tasks which all understand and can do. In the city the division of labor is complex.⁴⁵ Men become specialists and each occupation tends to become a profession. "The omni-competent men of the city are the nobodies of the place."⁴⁶ The professions and specialties in the city bring people together on a new basis. That is, an association on the basis of occupation rather than locality.⁴⁷ Our cities are organized "with the individual rather than the family as the eco-

⁴¹From unpublished study made by the author, 1928.

⁴²Zorbaugh, The Gold Coast and the Slum, pp. ix, 103, 182, 153, 195.

⁴³Membership in 1926 was 394 and 700 in 1934.

⁴⁴Interview with Mary B. Daniel, Director, September 10, 1934.

⁴⁵Park and Burgess, The City, p. 106.

⁴⁶Carl W. Strow, "The Human Resources of a Community," p. 23. Doctor's thesis, University of Chicago, 1932.

⁴⁷Ibid., p. 29.

nomie unit."⁴⁸ This all tends to produce insecurity and instability in the city.

For these reasons it will be of interest to analyze the occupations in Hyde Park. For then we will be able to see why life is organized more on an associational basis rather than a basis of proximity.⁴⁹ We will also be able to understand better the movements and shiftings of people, or mobility.

In order to facilitate comparison the more specific occupations as listed in the census were reclassified under more general divisions for Chicago, Hyde Park, and three other communities. These data, in percentages, are shown in Table VI for males and Table VII for females.

Considering Table VI, we see that Hyde Park stands low in males employed in "manufacturing and mechanical industries." The rate is about half that of the city⁵⁰ and only about two-thirds that of the other communities listed. We can assume, then, that Hyde Park is not a workingman's community made up of unskilled or skilled laborers.⁵¹ In "Trade" occupations Hyde Park is considerably higher than Chicago, the Near North Side, and New City and the same as the South Shore. It is in "Professional and Semi-Professional Service" that Hyde Park stands out. It has a rate of three times that of the city of Chicago, eight times that of New City, and almost twice that of other communities mentioned. In "Domestic and Personal Service" Hyde Park is above the city, considerably above South Shore and New City but much below the Near

⁴⁸McKenzie, The Metropolitan Community, p. 316.

⁴⁹See infra, Chap. III. The distinguishing feature between the primary group and the secondary group is that in primary groups the contacts are made upon a basis of proximity whereas those in the secondary group are made upon a basis of interests. Secondary group life is segmentalized, that is, only a part or segment of one's life is vitally concerned with any one local community or neighborhood.

⁵⁰The rate for the city of Chicago may be taken as an average for all communities within the city.

⁵¹Another study made during the last few years shows that in an area similar to and including Hyde Park only .7 per cent of the children in the public schools listed their fathers as belonging to the unskilled laboring class whereas the city of Chicago was listed as having 8.6 per cent in that class. The same study showed that the skilled laboring class of Hyde Park was 17.1 per cent while the city had 36.9 per cent (unpublished manuscript, "Adolescents in Chicago," Office of E. W. Burgess).

TABLE VI

GAINFULLY OCCUPIED MALES 10 YEARS OF AGE AND OLDER BY
GENERAL DIVISIONS OF OCCUPATIONS BY PERCENTAGES
FOR CHICAGO AND SELECTED COMMUNITIES, 1930*

	Chi- cago	Hyde Park	South Shore	New City	Near North Side
All Industries	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0**
Manufacturing & Mechanical In- dustries	44.9	22.4	31.7	52.2	33.2
Transportation & Communication .	13.2	9.3	11.3	13.0	9.4
Trade	23.2	37.9	37.5	22.5	23.1
Public Service	1.9	2.4	2.8	3.5	2.3
Professional Service	5.2	16.4	9.7	1.9	9.6
Domestic & Personal Service . .	7.3	10.3	5.7	3.3	17.3
Industries not specified	3.3	1.0	1.1	3.2	4.4

*U. S. Bureau of Census, 1930. See footnote, Table I.

**For the whole numbers on which the percentages are based, see Appendix A, p. 183.

North Side. "Domestic and Personal Service" reflects wealth and the Near North Side has much wealth concentrated on the "Gold Coast." In this respect, Hyde Park appears to lie between areas like the "Gold Coast" and the South Shore as a semi-wealthy community. In "Transportation and Communication" and in "Public Service" Hyde Park is about average.⁵²

Table VII presents similar data for females. On the whole the data for women are very similar to those for men. The rate is low for "Manufacturing and Mechanical Industries," high for "Professional and Semi-Professional Service," and high for "Domestic and Personal Service." In the latter group the Near North Side again outranks Hyde Park. In "Transportation and Communication" Hyde Park has a rate about half that of the City. In other respects, as in the case of males, the rates are about average.⁵³

⁵²Comparison of these data with data for 1920 is not possible because of the changes in the system of classification.

⁵³The divisions, "Agriculture, Forestry and Fishing" and

TABLE VII

GAINFULLY OCCUPIED FEMALES 10 YEARS OF AGE AND OLDER BY
GENERAL DIVISIONS OF OCCUPATIONS BY PERCENTAGES
FOR CHICAGO AND SELECTED COMMUNITIES, 1930*

	Chi- cago	Hyde Park	South Shore	New City	Near North Side
All Industries	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0**
Manufacturing & Mechanical In- dustries	26.6	11.9	15.2	41.5	19.0
Transportation & Communication .	6.9	3.9	8.7	7.8	2.9
Trade	22.8	23.5	29.6	23.7	16.6
Public Service	0.7	1.0	1.3	0.7	0.6
Professional Service	12.8	27.6	21.2	8.1	17.7
Domestic & Personal Service . .	25.2	30.3	21.9	14.3	39.4
Industries not specified	5.0	1.8	2.0	3.8	3.6

*U. S. Bureau of Census, 1930. See footnote, Table I.

**For the whole numbers on which the percentages are based, see Appendix A, p. 183.

From the foregoing data, we might classify Hyde Park as a residential community of business and professional people of the upper middle class economically. One reason for the large number of professional people is the presence of the University of Chicago. Besides those connected with the University, many doctors of medicine reside in the community. Of 361 physicians and surgeons having their offices in the Loop, 110, or nearly one-third, live in southern Kenwood and Hyde Park. The north shore district extending from near the Loop to the city limits has about 40 per cent of these doctors.⁵⁴ It is also significant that the place of business of these doctors is outside the community of residence.

Ministers of two of the largest churches of Hyde Park made out lists of twenty-six prominent members of their respective

"Extraction of Minerals" were omitted from these tables because in all cases the rates were less than .1 per cent.

⁵⁴See Map, Social Science Research Building, University of Chicago.

churches. One of these lists contained thirteen professional men and the other twenty.⁵⁵

A questionnaire to 245 seventh and eighth grade children in the Kozminski Public School in Hyde Park reveals 11.1 per cent of their fathers in professional service, while a similar statement from 223 children in the Seward Public School in New City community (back of the yards), reveals none that could be so classed.

Twenty per cent of the residents of one of the larger residential hotels of Hyde Park are professional people.⁵⁶

A minister of one of the prominent churches of Hyde Park stated that many prominent people of the city, county, and state are members of his church. "There are eight or ten Illinois Central Railroad officials, about the same number of packing industry officials, and the medical profession is represented by about twenty."⁵⁷

We have said that Hyde Park is not a laboring man's community. This may be accounted for by the fact that no rapid transit lines run from the community to the great manufacturing district to the west and still more by the fact that rents are too high for this class of people.

Since primary groups of the old neighborhood type thrive best where economic interests as well as other interests are centered in one location, it will be of value to know to what extent the people of Hyde Park have their occupational interests centered within the community. I have undertaken to answer this question by requesting children in public schools to state the place of employment of their fathers. From the Kozminski School in Hyde Park, 172 places of employment were obtained. These were distributed as follows: 15.7 per cent in Hyde Park; 27.3 per cent between Hyde Park and Twenty-second Street, chiefly in the Negro area; 30.2 per cent in the down-town area; and 26.8 per cent scattering, but largely west and north of the river near the Loop, in the Stockyards, and a few south of Sixty-third Street.

One hundred thirteen places of employment from the Seward School in New City were distributed as follows: In the Stockyards, 37.1 per cent; Seward Community, 31.8 per cent; near the Yards, 17.7 per cent; down-town, 3.5 per cent; scattering, 9.7 per cent.

⁵⁵Professional as used by the ministers has reference to professors, doctors, lawyers, and ministers, which would make their lists smaller than the census classification.

⁵⁶Hotel Study by Miss Jane Newberger.

⁵⁷From an interview, November, 1927.

The foregoing data show that while only about 16 per cent of those living in Hyde Park are employed there, about 70 per cent of those living in New City are employed in or near the community. Nearly one-third of the fathers in Hyde Park are employed downtown while only about one-thirteenth of those in New City are employed there.

The higher economic status of Hyde Park is indicated by the fact that 84 per cent of the mothers of seventh and eighth grade children were not employed outside the homes. In New City the percentage of mothers in the home was fifty-six. At the same time Hyde Park has a higher percentage of employed unmarried females than does New City.

We have stated that a large city has a complex division of labor. For one million people in Chicago who were gainfully employed, 509 occupations were listed.⁵⁸ Slightly over two hundred children in Hyde Park listed 101 different occupations for their fathers while a like number in New City gave 69 occupations.

An apartment house residential area in a large city like Hyde Park has a complex division of labor, concentrated or segregated occupational groups, segregation on the basis of wealth, and a highly mobile population in respect to occupations.

The amount of mobility appears to be the index to degrees of stability in city life. Professor Burgess says:

"The mobility of city life, with its increase in the number and intensity of stimulations, tends inevitably to confuse and to demoralize the person. For an essential element in the mores and in personal morality is consistency, consisting of the type that is natural in the social control of the primary group. Where mobility is the greatest, and where in consequence primary controls break down completely, as in the zone of deterioration in the modern city, there develop areas of demoralization, of promiscuity, and of vice."⁵⁹

Hyde Park is far from being an area of deterioration as is found in the slums surrounding the central business zone. It does have sufficient mobility, however, to make for a degree of instability and disorganization and thus a disturbance of the primary group relationships.

A change of enrollment in public schools indicates a change of family residence from one school district to another. The school districts which are concerned with Hyde Park with the

⁵⁸Park and Burgess, The City, p. 57.

⁵⁹Ibid., p. 59.

percentage of change of enrollment are as follows:⁶⁰

Hyde Park:

1. Ray	39.8%
2. Kozminski	46.9
3. Kenwood	39.0
4. Fiske	40.8

School districts in the New City community (back of the Yards) have the following changes:

New City:

1. Seward	31.0%
2. Hedges	21.8
3. Hamline	24.8

Negro Area:

1. Felsenthal	74.8%
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The rate of moving into or out of Hyde Park community appears higher than in New City but lower than in the Negro area where it is highest in the city. The data show that about four children out of ten move into or out of the district every year in Hyde Park. This does not mean that four out of ten families move every year, for a family may have more than one child. The data are, however, comparable between districts. The data above do not show the movement of families within the districts. In looking over the record cards of children in Hyde Park schools, it was found that many addresses occurred upon the cards which were within the district. This shows movement within school districts.

The upper grade children of the Kozminski school wrote the addresses of all their former and present residences and also the names and addresses of all the schools they had attended. These data show the following results: Only 32 children out of 240, with an average age of thirteen years, had attended only one school. One hundred forty-five had attended two or three schools and 63 had attended from four to nine schools. Out of 205 children only 8 had had only one residence. Ninety-six had had two or three residences and 101 had lived in from four to nine different homes. Analysis of similar data from the Seward school shows a less number of residences and fewer schools attended.⁶¹

⁶⁰Data from a map constructed of the city of Chicago showing the percentage of moving in or out of school districts during the school year 1925-26 (Social Science Research Building, University of Chicago).

⁶¹Another recent study of "Length of Residence in Present Homes of Chicago Adolescents" substantiates the data above (unpublished manuscript, "Adolescents in Chicago").

A community with a high percentage of home ownership should have a more stable population than one with a low percentage. Of all the families in Hyde Park in 1930, 10.6 per cent owned their homes. This is only a very slight decrease over 1920, the figures then being 10.7 per cent owning homes. Home ownership has just about kept pace with the increase in the number of families. From 1920 to 1930 the families increased 57.2 per cent and the number of homes owned, 55.6 per cent.⁶² In New City 30.5 per cent of the families owned their homes in 1920, and 35.2 per cent in 1930. From 1920 to 1930 the number of dwellings in Hyde Park decreased from 3,698 to 2,735. This decrease, along with the fact that the families increased 57.2 per cent, can mean only that the trend is toward larger multiple dwellings. If this trend continues, home ownership must decrease unless there is a movement toward co-operative apartment ownership. It is clear, then, that in 1930 about 90 per cent of the families were renters and renters are always more mobile as a group than are home owners.

The distribution of the members of a church should give us some notion of mobility in a community. If the members are spread widely over a territory, it should indicate to us that there is more mobility among them than if they are centered about the church. It would indicate at least that they must travel longer distances to church and it may indicate that they have at one time lived near the church and have since moved but have retained their memberships.

It is quite clear in the case of the Jewish churches that the movement is toward the south and east following the boulevards through Hyde Park.⁶³ The situation is most clear in the case of Sinai, where there are no members near the church, where all have moved toward the south and east and are many miles from the church. The members of the Presbyterian church and the Baptist church are largely located in Hyde Park but there seems to be a trend toward Woodlawn and the South Shore district. They are not distinctly community churches any more. The Congregational church has its membership within a smaller area than the other churches about which we have information.

The Swedish Evangelical Lutheran church located at Fifty-fourth Street and Kimbark Avenue had 424 members in April, 1928.

⁶²The numbers on which the percentages above were made for the year 1920 were obtained by adding the data from census tracks, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, and one-fifth of track 401 (see Burgess and Newcomb, op. cit.).

⁶³See supra, p. 21.

They were distributed as follows: 193 in Hyde Park, 224 outside Hyde Park, and 7 addresses unknown. The 224 outside of Hyde Park were distributed as follows: 7 outside the city, 10 on the north side, 14 on the southwest side, 3 in Pullman, 38 in Kenwood, and 152 in the area south of the Midway, east of State, and north of Ninety-fifth Street.⁶⁴

This shows a distinct trend toward the south. I was informed by the minister of this church that most of the members at one time lived in Hyde Park. Another interesting fact about the membership of this church is that, even though the membership is scattered, they appear in little groups here and there. This shows an attachment between the members for their own religion and culture.

Data from interviews substantiate the data from the churches and the schools. Dr. Davis of the Hyde Park Presbyterian church⁶⁵ said,

"The trend of movement of the members is toward the south, to the South Shore district especially. There are only eight or ten members remaining in Kenwood; many live out south. Many of the young people at marriage move away to a section where the rents are lower. When they inherit their parents' property it is most often sold for apartment house sites. The turnover of members is about 15 per cent per year. The membership has grown during the last few years, however."⁶⁶

The turnover in the Boys' Department of the Community Y.M.C.A. is from 15 to 20 per cent per year. Many of the boys have wealthy parents who are here one season and gone another. The hotel section increases this number.⁶⁷

From the interviews of about fifty families it is clear that many have moved from the area north and west of Washington Park because of "deterioration of the neighborhood," which means, in this case, the moving in of Negroes. Most of the families liked Hyde Park but some would prefer living in the South Shore region. One doctor at the University of Chicago Medical College stated that the rents were too high.

"We would like to live here in Hyde Park near my work for we like it otherwise, except that it is a little crowded as a place to bring up children. When our lease is out we intend

⁶⁴Spot maps of membership made by the author.

⁶⁵Now the United Church of Hyde Park.

⁶⁶Interview with Dr. Davis.

⁶⁷Interview with Mr. Diehl, secretary of boys' department, Hyde Park Y.M.C.A.

to move to the suburbs and live in a single house, a bungalow, perhaps. We haven't decided the place but think it will be Homewood or Beverley Hills."⁶⁸

If rising land values is an index of mobility, then Hyde Park should be listed as a mobile residential area. Land values in Hyde Park have been rising since 1912 but more rapidly since 1920. The peak in values was reached from 1928 to 1930. Since that time decreases have brought the values down to those of 1920.

Land values in Hyde Park rise as one goes from Cottage Grove toward the east, reaching the highest points at Fifty-third Street and Lake Park Avenue and in the "Hotel Coast." This rise is true of both residential and business areas.⁶⁹

The chief reason for this rapid rise of land values in Hyde Park is the change in the use of land for single homes to apartments and to apartment hotels. The multiple dwelling permits more people to live in the area, which in turn increases the demand for local stores, which causes a rise of land values in the business centers. The increase in the number of families coming into Hyde Park from 1920 to 1930,⁷⁰ substantiates increasing land values as a measure of increasing mobility.

We saw at the beginning of this chapter that the best environment for stability of primary group relationships was in a small community with a simple division of labor and with a homogeneity in culture and race. The data from Hyde Park show that it is far from this type of community. In the first place, the size of the population makes primary groups over the entire area impossible. In the second place, the high degree of specialization of occupations breaks up the community into many associations on the basis of interests rather than proximity. These interest associations pass over the community boundaries into other communities of the city and even to other parts of the state and nation. In

⁶⁸Interview.

⁶⁹All data for land values were obtained from Olcott's "Land Values Blue Book of Chicago." Maps of land values were constructed from these data for the years 1921, 1924, and 1928. All through the history of Hyde Park the point of highest land values has been at Fifty-third Street and Lake Park Avenue. Land values per front foot at this corner have been as follows: 1915 to 1918, \$750; 1921 to 1922, \$1,000; 1923 to 1925, \$1,500; 1926, \$2,000; 1927, \$2,500; 1928 to 1930, \$2,750; 1931, \$2,500; 1932, \$2,250; 1933, \$1,500; and 1934, \$1,200.

⁷⁰From 1920 to 1930, Hyde Park's families increased by 5,173 or 57.2 per cent over that of 1920 (Burgess and Newcomb, op. cit.).

the third place, the cultural and racial homogeneity, although high for a city community, is not of a nature to make primary contacts possible on a community-wide basis. In the fourth place, the great mobility of the population, even though other qualifications were present, would disturb any primary group relationships that might exist. On the other hand, Hyde Park is not a disorganized and deteriorating community like the Near North Side or other similar areas in the slum. Hyde Park is able to co-operate to some extent in meeting certain pressing social problems. The community is apparently changing toward more cultural heterogeneity rather than less and therefore promises for the future more and more instability of social life and less and less primary group relationships.

So far, we have considered only the community-wide aspects of primary group organization in the urban environment and found it almost entirely lacking. It may be that smaller areas within the community are organized into primary groups on the basis of proximity. It will be our next task to look more deeply into the smaller areas or neighborhoods and see whether or not we find there this intimate type of social organization.

CHAPTER III

PROXIMITY AND INTIMACY

We find the primary group type of neighborhood in isolated rural areas as well as the primary group type of community.¹ In fact, where the community is simple, under these rural conditions, it is difficult to distinguish the one from the other. The neighborhood, however, is usually thought of as a more informal group of families² living in proximity, the members of which are intimately acquainted with one another.³ The neighborhood sometimes grows up around one institution, a church or school, and furnishes at most only two or three services.⁴ On the other hand, the community is often more formally organized, supplies all of the needs of the local inhabitants and is a constellation of all the institutions that function for the group's welfare. The community may be composed of the neighborhoods as interdependent units,⁵ just as we have found, in the city, that the communities are the interdependent units of the larger community, the city.⁶

The simple rural neighborhood has a homogeneous culture⁷ and a common heritage of folkways and mores which are the sole sources of social control, all the members habitually obeying one set of definitions.⁸ Under these conditions the neighborhood is

¹See supra, p. 8.

²Cf. Albert Blumenthal, Small-Town Stuff (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1932), p. 110.

³Mr. Strow says: "By neighborhood is meant a group of people, generally families, living upon adjacent territory, who are united largely by personal acquaintance, local sentiment and personal interaction" (op. cit., p. 53).

⁴James M. Williams, Our Rural Heritage (New York: Alfred A Knopf, 1925), p. 23.

⁵Ibid., p. 21.

⁶See supra, p. 14.

⁷Blumenthal, op. cit., p. 105.

⁸R. D. McKenzie, The Neighborhood (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1923), p. 348.

not segregated into racial, cultural, or economic groups.⁹ The members are held together by common interests, friendships, kinship ties, attachment to locality, by sharing, by giving mutual aid and sympathy during group and family crises.¹⁰ Social intercourse is carried on through family visiting and gossip.¹¹

The urban neighborhood is vastly different. Families live in close proximity but with little in common.¹² Families may be living side by side or in the same apartment building, who are divided by race, by culture, or by economic interests. As we have seen,¹³ the communities may be segregated on the basis of these factors,¹⁴ thus making the neighborhoods within these communities more homogeneous, as, for example, racial communities, cultural communities, and communities of similar economic levels. The great mobility¹⁵ in the large city, however, tends to keep communities and neighborhoods in continual flux even though they have some other features in common. The family and the person become detached from any one locality.¹⁶ The decrease in home ownership aids this process of detachment. The mobility is encouraged by our modern economic life which has its highest expression in the modern city.

Where the rural area has folkways and mores, the city has

⁹Zorbaugh, The Gold Coast and the Slum, p. 232. See also: Newell LeRoy Sims, "A Hoosier Village," pp. 92, 93. Doctor's thesis, Columbia University, 1912.

¹⁰James M. Williams, "An American Town," p. 43. Doctor's thesis, Columbia University, 1906.

¹¹Blumenthal, Small-Town Stuff, pp. 136, 140, 400. See also: Edmund De S. Brunner, Village Communities (New York: George H. Doran Co., 1927), p. 117.

¹²Physical distance small, social distance great. See Introduction to The Gold Coast and the Slum by Robert E. Park (Zorbaugh, op. cit., p. ix). Cf. B. A. McGlennahan, The Changing Urban Neighborhood (Los Angeles: University of Southern California Press, 1929), Chap. IV.

¹³See supra, p. 9.

¹⁴Noel P. Gist and L. A. Halbert, Urban Society (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1933), p. 266.

¹⁵Park and Burgess, The City, p. 106. See also: McKenzie, The Neighborhood, p. 159; and Gist and Halbert, op. cit., p. 269.

¹⁶Park and Burgess, The City, p. 112.

style and fashion setting the pattern for group behavior.¹⁷ Where the country is personal in its contacts the city is impersonal.¹⁸ In the city one does not call upon one's neighbors simply because they live near, nor does one aid in sickness or distress except in emergency cases.¹⁹ The city aids its poor and distressed through impersonal channels of charity organizations.²⁰ The newspapers take the place of country gossip and one may live for years without knowing one's nearest neighbor.

In spite of all this, the city neighborhoods and communities function as an organized unit. People appear to live in proximity in the city not because they are a social group but because they form a symbiosis, that is, because they are useful to one another.²¹ Duties that, in a rural community, would be performed in a personal manner are, in the city, institutionalized and delegated to some specialized agency.²² Interests, instead of being all located within one neighborhood, cut across neighborhood and community lines. Friendships are made on the basis of interests instead of proximity,²³ the highly specialized person having friends throughout the city and even the nation.

The effects upon personality of the rural and urban neighborhoods are vastly different. The rural personality is likely to be emotional and friendly in social relationships. He knows his neighbors by their first names. He is likely to be conservative in most respects, slow to adopt new ideas. He takes a friendly interest in his neighbor's affairs. He is likely to be naïve about many things. He is a slave to custom. On the other hand, the urbanite is objective and distant in dealing with neighbors. Everything is placed upon a business basis. He is progressive in most things, being willing to try out new ideas. In a social way he pays no attention to his neighbors. He seeks leisure-time activities to suit his own tastes, unrestrained by interference of neighbors. He is sophisticated and detached from the immediate locality where he resides. Custom has little hold upon him.

¹⁷Ibid.

¹⁸Gist and Halbert, Urban Society, p. 284.

¹⁹Ibid., p. 365; see also Ernest W. Burgess (ed.), The Urban Community (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1926), p. 235.

²⁰McKenzie, The Neighborhood, pp. 597, 608, 610.

²¹Park and Burgess, The City, p. 109.

²²T. V. Smith and Leonard D. White (eds.), Chicago (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1929), p. 10. See also, Gist and Halbert, op. cit., p. 111.

²³Park and Burgess, The City, p. 109.

Instead, he follows styles, fads, and fashions.

Since neighborhoods are units making up the communities, they will vary from one part of the city to another as did the communities.²⁴ More primary group life will exist in immigrant communities, and the outlying residential zone than in the slums or a rooming house area. Neighborhoods within a community may vary in some respects from one another as we shall see later, but in general they reflect the type of community life since they are component parts of the community.

Since urban neighborhoods are so unlike rural neighborhoods in the type of social organization, the question arises whether we should denote them by the same term, neighborhood. We have noted that the urban area we call a neighborhood is organized on a symbiotic basis rather than a social and that the populations are segregated on the basis of race culture and economic classes. The process that brings about the segregation of the city into racial, cultural, and economic areas is known as the ecological process. Professor Burgess describes the ecological forces as follows:

"The ecological forces are those which have to do with the process of competition and the consequent distribution and segregation by residence and occupation. Through competition and the factors which affect it, as trade centers, etc., every neighborhood in the city becomes a component and integral part of the larger community, with a destiny bound up by its relation to it. In the study of the growth of the city it is found that the life of any neighborhood is determined, in the long run, not altogether by the forces within itself, but even more by the total course of city life. To think of the neighborhood or the community in isolation from the city is to disregard the biggest fact about the neighborhood."²⁵

These "component and integral" parts of each community and in turn of the city might be called ecological neighborhoods since they are determined by the ecological process. This would distinguish them from the primary group type of neighborhood found in rural areas. In both these types of neighborhoods the inhabitants live in proximity, but in the one the proximity results in intimate association, in the other they remain strangers to one another and are held together because of other factors, as race,²⁶

²⁴See supra, p. 10.

²⁵Park and Burgess, The City, p. 147.

²⁶Professor McKenzie says: "The city neighborhood differs considerably from its traditional prototype in that it represents a much more selected social group. Economic, racial and cultural

economic interests,²⁷ nationality,²⁸ or other cultural similarity.²⁹

Our comparisons of the urban ecological neighborhood with the rural primary group neighborhood have been general up to this point. We are now ready to look more deeply into the ecological areas in the city. We shall take Hyde Park again, as we did in the last chapter, and examine the ecological areas within the community for any primary group relationships that may be found that appear to have originated and existed upon a proximity basis. We are interested in the size of the areas over which primary groups extend. Do they extend completely over an ecological area or only parts of these areas? If primary contacts do exist, on the basis of proximity, by whom are they made, adults or children? What forces or factors interfere with the formation of primary groups in the ecological areas of Hyde Park? What is the effect of the type of association found in Hyde Park upon personality, especially in the growth of the child? These and similar questions we shall endeavor to answer after first having delimited and described the ecological areas and presented data upon population, the occupations, home ownership, cultural differences, etc., within the ecological areas that seem pertinent to an understanding of the primary group relationships. We shall present the data for adults first and then for the children.

Dividing Hyde Park into ecological neighborhoods is not so simple a task as was the location of Hyde Park in the city. In the case of the community, the barriers in the form of parks, the

forces, by distributing the population into different residential sectors, give to the city neighborhood an external appearance of homogeneity that is not frequently found in small villages or rural neighborhoods—a homogeneity, however, as we shall see later, which is more apparent than real" (The Neighborhood, p. 353).

²⁷K. Young, op. cit., p. 93. See also: Glick, op. cit., pp. 110, 198; and Strow, op. cit., p. 58.

²⁸Zorbaugh, op. cit., p. 11. See also: Park and Burgess, The City, p. 119; Jones, op. cit., pp. 107, 114; Beryl Rogers, "A Modern Mining Community," p. 45. Master's thesis, University of Chicago, 1922.

²⁹Professor Park points out that there are childless regions, divorceless regions, and regions of no delinquency in the city (Smith and White, op. cit., p. 10). Cf. Mirra Komarovsky, "A Project for a Study of the Area of Social Contacts," Journal of Educational Sociology, IV (May, 1931), 552-62.

lake, and boulevards were quite distinct. In the case of the neighborhoods, the divisions are less distinct, with the exception of the Illinois Central Railroad tracks, which set off the Hotel Coast from the remainder of the community into a distinct ecological area. The remainder of the community is divided into a north and south section by Fifty-fifth Street, which is a commercial zone running the full width of Hyde Park. We saw in the last chapter that this area is populated by a people with a lower economic status and has most of the problems of delinquency, poverty, and gangs.³⁰ These factors, with the street car lines, make Fifty-fifth Street a sufficient barrier to warrant us denoting it as the dividing line between north and south Hyde Park.

The section of Hyde Park west of the Illinois Central Railroad has no boulevard running north and south which might be taken as a barrier. It has, however, south of Fifty-fifth Street, the University of Chicago as a barrier between east and west Hyde Park. North of Fifty-fifth Street no such barrier exists, but from observation it would seem that Greenwood Avenue would be the natural dividing line between east and west Hyde Park. Since no statistical data are available for using Greenwood as a division line, we shall take the nearest street, which is Ellis Avenue. This will permit us to present statistical data for the ecological areas. The northwest area I have called Kozminski neighborhood³¹ from the Kozminski school, which is located within the area. The Ray neighborhood is applied to the northeast area because it contains a part of the Ray school district. The southwest area is largely west of the University of Chicago and therefore is called West

³⁰See supra, pp. 26-29.

³¹The naming of the neighborhoods is for convenience of discussion. As far as I know, no distinct names have been applied to any of these areas by the residents, at least in recent years, with the exception of the Hotel Coast. This name is descriptive of the area, it being on the shore of Lake Michigan and largely a hotel area. The fact that the various areas have not been given names by the residents may be significant in showing that the areas are not neighborhoods in the old primary group sense. They are simply ecological areas. The name "Hyde Park" as applied to the whole community has a meaning in the minds of the residents. There appears to be no such significant name applied to the various areas. One will say "I live in Hyde Park" and if pressed further will say on Blackstone or Dorchester, etc. The avenues have a significance but not the larger areas. For a similar division of Hyde Park into neighborhoods see: Paul R. Conway, "The Apartment House Dweller," p. 112. Master's thesis, University of Chicago, 1926.

University Neighborhood. Likewise, the southeast area is called East University Neighborhood.

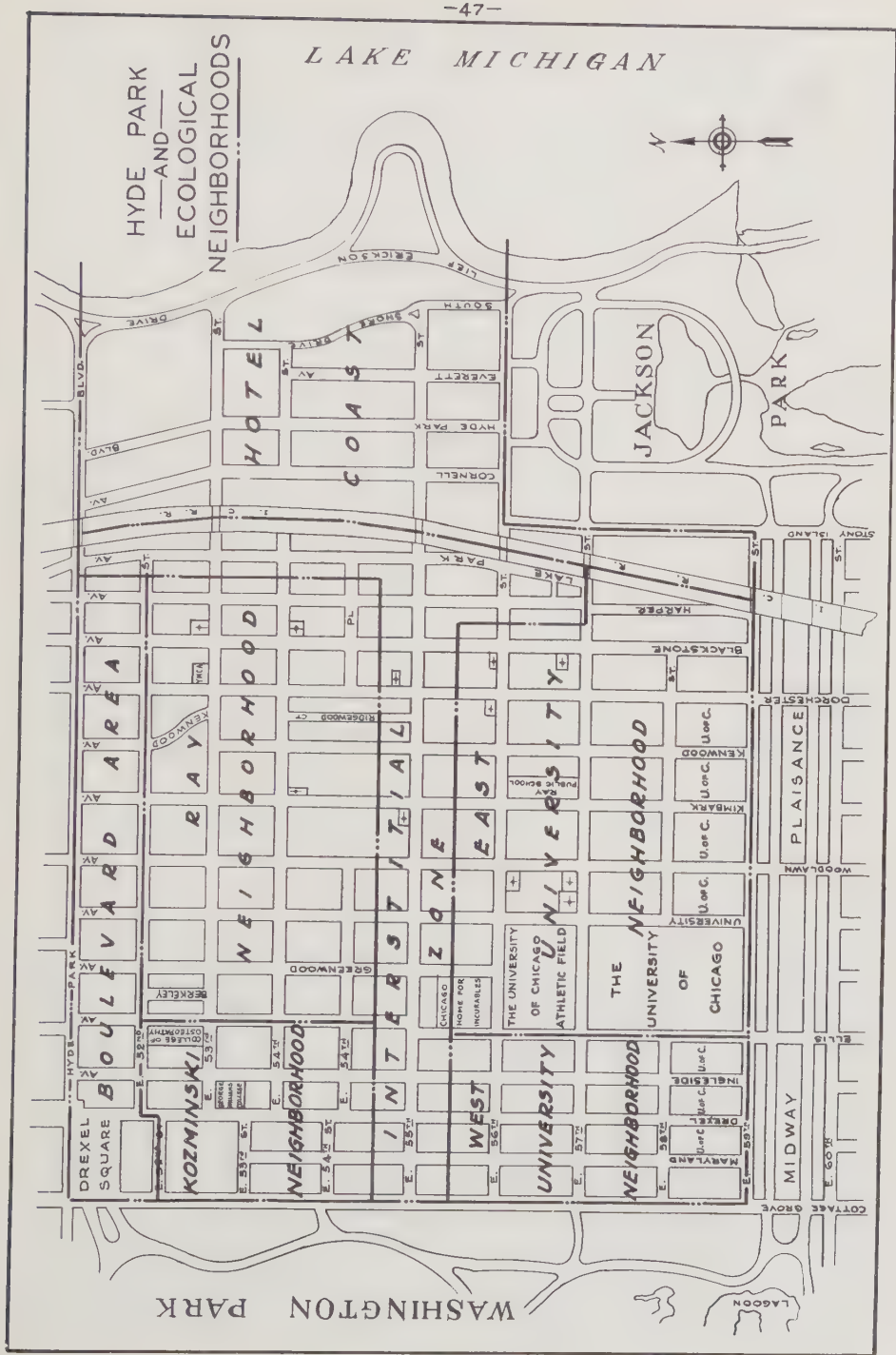
As we have pointed out earlier, the Fifty-fifth Street area and the Hyde Park Boulevard area have some distinct cultural and economic peculiarities. The "Boulevard Area," which is a strip of territory one block wide running from Cottage Grove Avenue to connect with the Hotel Coast at Lake Park, deserves a special name because of the very mobile population found there and also because the population is largely Jewish. This mobile Jewish population follows Hyde Park Boulevard into the Hotel Coast with increasing mobility and land values as one goes from Cottage Grove Avenue east and south. This mobile stream of Jewish populations seems to flow by and around the remainder of Hyde Park, leaving it more or less unaffected and less mobile. The Fifty-fifth Street area and similar areas have been designated as interstitial by Professor Thrasher.³² I have therefore called this area along with Lake Park Avenue the "Interstitial Zone." This area is a strip of territory about a block wide running from Cottage Grove Avenue east to Lake Park Avenue and then following Lake Park north to Hyde Park Boulevard and also south from Fifty-fifth to Fifty-seventh Street and including two blocks of Harper Avenue.

These seven areas are indicated on Map I. The boundaries are as follows:

1. Boulevard Area.- Hyde Park Boulevard, Lake Park Avenue, Fifty-second Street, Cottage Grove Avenue.
2. Hotel Coast.- Hyde Park Boulevard and Hyde Park Boulevard extended, Lake Michigan, Fifty-ninth Street extended and Fifty-ninth Street, Illinois Central Railroad.
3. Kozminski.- Fifty-second Street, Ellis Avenue, Fifty-fifth Street,³³ Cottage Grove Avenue.
4. Ray.- Fifty-second Street, Illinois Central Railroad, Fifty-fifth Street, Ellis Avenue.
5. West University.- Fifty-fifth Street, Ellis Avenue, Fifty-ninth Street, Cottage Grove Avenue.
6. East University.- Fifty-fifth Street, Illinois Central Railroad, Fifty-ninth Street, Ellis Avenue.
7. Interstitial Zone.³³- A strip of territory one-half

³²Professor Thrasher says in defining the concept, interstitial: "pertaining to spaces that intervene between one thing and another" (The Gang, p. 22).

³³For statistical purposes the Fifty-fifth Street—Lake Park Avenue interstitial zone is included in other nearby areas. Trustworthy statistical data were not available for this particular area.



HYDE PARK
—AND—
ECOLOGICAL
NEIGHBORHOODS

LAKE MICHIGAN



WASHINGTON PARK



LAGOON

block wide on each side of Fifty-fifth Street and Lake Park Avenue, including two blocks of Harper Avenue between Fifty-fifth and Fifty-seventh Streets.

Table VIII, showing the percentages of various types of population in the neighborhoods, reveals that the East University neighborhood has the highest percentage of native white of native parentage with Kozminski the lowest. A glance at the table shows

TABLE VIII

POPULATION BY COLOR AND NATIVITY BY PERCENTAGES FOR
HYDE PARK AND ECOLOGICAL NEIGHBORHOODS, 1930*

	Total Popula- tion	Native White, Native Parentage	Native White, Foreign or Mixed Parentage	Foreign- born White	All Others
Hyde Park	100.0**	45.4	32.8	20.1	1.7
Boulevard Area . . .	100.0	38.4	39.9	20.8	0.9
Hotel Coast	100.0	45.8	35.9	17.3	0.9
Kozminski	100.0	31.2	38.8	29.2	0.8
Ray	100.0	46.2	32.1	20.4	1.2
West University . .	100.0	41.0	31.6	22.4	5.0
East University . .	100.0	57.8	23.0	16.3	2.8

*U. S. Bureau of Census, 1930. See footnote, Table I.

**For the whole numbers on which the percentages are based, see Appendix A, p. 183.

that the east side of Hyde Park has the higher percentage of native white with native parentage, whereas the west side is lower. This corresponds with land values, which are higher in the east than in the west section. The foreign-born and those of mixed parentage appear to enter Hyde Park on the west side, especially in the northwest part.

Similar data to those found in Table VIII are found in Table IX for 1934. It is clear from Table IX that population changes from 1930 to 1934 in all neighborhoods have been a decrease in the percentage of foreign-born and an increase of native white of native parentage. The greatest change has been in the loss of the foreign-born; in fact, the actual loss in foreign-born was 3,280 whereas the actual gain in the native parentage class was only 441. This, however, leaves the percentages for the

native white much larger and that of the foreign-born much smaller. The East University neighborhood appears to have changed least in percentages; however, its actual loss in native white was larger than any other neighborhood.

TABLE IX

POPULATION BY COLOR AND NATIVITY BY PERCENTAGES FOR
HYDE PARK AND ECOLOGICAL NEIGHBORHOODS, 1934*

	All Classes	Native White, Native Parentage	Native White, Foreign or Mixed Parentage	Foreign- born White	Negro	Other Races
Hyde Park . . .	100.0**	51.4	32.5	14.8	1.0	0.3
Boulevard Area	100.0	46.9	37.8	14.7	0.5	0.0
Hotel Coast . .	100.0	53.1	34.7	11.6	0.5	0.1
Kozminski . . .	100.0	39.5	41.4	18.3	0.9	0.0
Ray	100.0	52.4	32.0	14.6	0.7	0.3
West University	100.0	47.9	30.9	18.1	1.9	1.2
East University	100.0	60.0	22.4	15.1	1.9	0.5

*Newcomb and Lang, Census Data of the City of Chicago: 1934.

**For the whole numbers on which the percentages are based, see Appendix A, p. 183.

The occupational distribution for these ecological neighborhoods and for the community of Hyde Park is shown in Table X for the males and Table XI for the females for 1930.³⁴ In the first place, the tables show a considerable segregation of occupational distribution among some occupations while in others very little. Pointing out the high concentrations first, we find in the division of "Professional Service" that the West and East University Neighborhoods outrank the others in percentages of those employed in this field. The Boulevard area and the Hotel Coast appear to be the high areas for males in "Trade" occupations,

³⁴Comparison with similar data for 1920 is not possible because of the change in method of classification by the census enumerators. In so far as the data are comparable, there appear to be few changes since 1920.

TABLE X

GAINFULLY OCCUPIED MALES 10 YEARS OF AGE AND OLDER BY
GENERAL DIVISIONS OF OCCUPATIONS BY PERCENTAGES FOR
HYDE PARK AND ECOLOGICAL NEIGHBORHOODS, 1930*

	Hyde Park	Ecological Neighborhoods					
		Boule- vard Area	Hotel Coast	Koz- min- ski	Ray	West Uni- ver- sity	East Uni- ver- sity
All Industries . . .	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0**
Manufacturing & Me- chanical Industries	22.4	23.6	21.3	20.2	24.4	25.3	20.0
Transportation & Communication . .	9.3	3.8	5.0	12.1	10.7	15.7	10.7
Trade	37.9	50.8	46.1	44.1	36.3	24.2	25.6
Public Service . . .	2.4	1.6	2.0	2.9	2.5	4.5	1.7
Professional Service	16.4	11.9	15.8	10.0	13.0	16.9	29.5
Domestic & Personal Service	10.3	7.2	8.8	9.6	11.8	12.1	10.7
Industries not specified	1.0	1.0	1.1	1.1	1.3	1.4	1.8

*U. S. Bureau of Census, 1930. See footnote, Table I.

**For the whole numbers on which the percentages are based, see Appendix A, p. 183.

whereas Kozminski Neighborhood is high for both sexes and Ray Neighborhood for females. "Domestic and Personal Service" ranks high in the Boulevard Area and the Hotel Coast for females. The divisions of "Transportation" and of "Public Service" are high in West University for males.

Low percentages of certain occupational divisions are found in the following areas: "Trade" is low in both the University areas for both sexes; "Professional Service" in the Boulevard and in Kozminski areas for both sexes and in the Hotel Coast and Ray for men; "Domestic and Personal Service" in the Boulevard area and Hotel Coast for men,³⁵ and low in Kozminski and Ray areas for females. "Manufacturing and Mechanical Industries" are about

³⁵High in these areas for females.

TABLE XI

GAINFULLY OCCUPIED FEMALES 10 YEARS OF AGE AND OLDER BY
GENERAL DIVISIONS OF OCCUPATIONS BY PERCENTAGES FOR
HYDE PARK AND ECOLOGICAL NEIGHBORHOODS, 1930*

	Hyde Park	Ecological Neighborhoods					
		Boule- vard Area	Hotel Coast	Koz- min- ski	Ray	West Uni- ver- sity	East Uni- ver- sity
All Industries . . .	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0**
Manufacturing & Me- chanical Industries	11.9	10.4	10.0	15.1	14.4	14.1	9.8
Transportation & Communication . .	3.9	3.0	3.6	5.1	4.3	4.6	3.5
Trade	23.5	21.4	24.0	33.4	27.6	20.6	15.6
Public Service . . .	1.0	0.5	1.0	0.7	1.4	2.1	0.9
Professional Service	27.9	18.4	27.2	21.3	24.0	34.1	36.8
Domestic & Personal Service	30.3	45.4	32.5	22.3	25.7	23.3	31.9
Industries not specified	1.8	1.0	1.6	2.1	2.7	1.2	1.4

*U. S. Bureau of Census, 1930. See footnote, Table I.

**For the whole numbers on which the percentages are based, see Appendix A, p. 183.

evenly distributed throughout the various areas, having about one-fifth of the total population so employed.³⁶

It must be remembered that, even though certain occupations are more highly concentrated within certain areas, no area is entirely lacking in any of the occupations.³⁷ This is

³⁶The fact that no large manufacturing industries exist within Hyde Park means that most of the people so employed must go to other communities for employment. This makes for greater mobility and detachment from the community and thus a disturbance to the formation of primary group neighborhoods.

³⁷The Boulevard Area appears to be the most singular in this respect for it has over half of its males employed in "Trade," and nearly half of its females in "Domestic and Personal Ser-

specially significant to this study because diverse occupational interests tend to detract from the formation of primary groups upon a basis of proximity. On the other hand, if an area is largely of one occupational class, it might aid in the formation of such groups.³⁸

The foregoing data permit us to characterize the University Neighborhoods as areas of "Professional Service" and the Boulevard and Gold Coast as areas of "Trade." The fact that many of the persons in the professions are connected with the University of Chicago gives us also additional light on the greater stability of the University Neighborhoods as compared with the mobile Jewish residents of the Boulevard and Hotel Coast. This should mean that more primary group relationships will be found in the University Neighborhoods than in the other areas unless other forces intervene. The fact that the University professors live and work within the same area and have relatively stable occupations should facilitate the formation of primary groups. The other two areas, Kozminski and Ray, are about average in occupational distribution, with the exceptions noted above.

Renters are much more mobile than owners of homes so the percentage of renters within the ecological areas should indicate the relative amount of instability of population and thus the lack of primary group relationship. Table XII indicates the percentages of rented and owned homes in the various areas. The table shows the highest percentage of renters reside in the Boulevard and Hotel Coast areas and the lowest in the University areas, with the other two areas about average. This corresponds exactly with the data on occupations ⁱⁿ pointing out the most stable and unstable areas.³⁹

Table XIII, showing the length of residence of families for 1934, should throw some light upon mobility in Hyde Park and its neighborhoods. The table shows that nearly half the families (48.7 per cent) have resided in their present homes twenty-three

vice." The Hotel Coast ranks next in "Trade" for males, having 46.1 per cent so employed.

³⁸We must remember, however, that these occupational divisions are complex and contain specialized occupations. These specialists would have little in common even though within the same occupation class.

³⁹It must be pointed out that the percentage of renters even in the East University area is high and should indicate a great mobility of population, but relatively it is considerably more stable than the Boulevard area.

TABLE XII

HOMES BY TENURE BY PERCENTAGES FOR HYDE PARK
AND ECOLOGICAL NEIGHBORHOODS, 1930*

	Total Homes	Owned Homes	Rented Homes	Tenure Unknown
Hyde Park	100.0**	10.6	89.1	0.3
Boulevard Area	100.0	6.6	93.3	0.1
Hotel Coast	100.0	7.7	91.9	0.4
Kozminski	100.0	9.5	90.5	0.1
Ray	100.0	10.9	89.0	0.1
West University	100.0	11.5	87.9	0.5
East University	100.0	17.0	82.6	0.4

*U. S. Bureau of Census, 1930. See footnote, Table I.

**For the whole numbers on which the percentages are based, see Appendix A, p. 183.

months or less. The neighborhoods show about the same percentage of change of residence, with the exception of the East University neighborhood, which has a higher percentage of families with a longer period of residence. Other facts have shown the East University neighborhood to be the most stable area in Hyde Park. These facts indicate a high degree of mobility and therefore instability among the families within the ecological neighborhoods.

About 70 per cent of the Negroes in Hyde Park are located near the Illinois Central Railroad along Lake Park and Harper Avenues.⁴⁰ The number of Negroes is hardly of sufficient size to be a disturbing factor in the social life; however, the fact that they are segregated into small areas means a certain amount of conflict, especially among the children. This racial conflict disturbs the formation of primary groups.

⁴⁰The number and percentage of Negroes in Hyde Park in the various ecological neighborhoods (U. S. Bureau of Census, 1930) are as follows:

	Hyde Park	Boule- vard Area	Hotel Coast	Kozmin- ski	Ray	West Univer- sity	East Univer- sity
Number . .	521	36	75	49	123	71	167
Percentage	100.0	6.9	14.4	9.4	23.6	13.6	32.0

TABLE XIII

FAMILIES BY LENGTH OF RESIDENCE BY PERCENTAGES FOR
HYDE PARK AND ECOLOGICAL NEIGHBORHOODS, 1934*

	Hyde Park	Ecological Neighborhoods					
		Boule- vard Area	Hotel Coast	Koz- min- ski	Ray	West Uni- ver- sity	East Uni- ver- sity
Total Families . . .	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0**
Length of Residence							
Under 4 months . .	12.9	10.2	13.4	11.7	14.8	10.1	12.3
4 mos. - 11 mos.	21.3	23.0	17.7	25.5	21.6	26.5	19.6
12 mos. - 23 mos.	14.5	15.7	14.7	15.2	16.0	11.6	11.6
2 yrs. - 2 $\frac{11}{12}$ yrs.	11.6	13.2	13.3	10.6	10.9	10.3	10.7
3 yrs. - 3 $\frac{11}{12}$ yrs.	7.4	6.6	8.5	8.1	6.7	7.6	7.3
4 yrs. - 4 $\frac{11}{12}$ yrs.	4.9	5.8	4.9	4.1	4.5	6.1	5.0
5 yrs. - 9 yrs. .	15.6	16.1	19.0	14.7	13.3	13.8	16.3
10 yrs. and over .	11.7	9.4	8.4	10.0	12.3	14.0	17.3
Unknown	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0

*Census Data for the City of Chicago: 1934. See foot-
note, Table IX.

**For the whole numbers on which the percentages are
based, see Appendix A, p. 183.

The neighborhoods in Hyde Park appear to vary in stability of population. Yet they all have a complex division of labor, a high percentage of renters, a diversification of culture, a varying economic status, etc. All of these are opposed to the formation of primary groups. Again, the size of the population of these neighborhoods⁴¹ is such as to make the formation of such

⁴¹The population of the various neighborhoods for 1930
(U. S. Bureau of Census, 1930) is as follows:

Hyde Park	48,017	Ray	14,020
Boulevard Area . . .	4,136	West University . .	4,131
Hotel Coast	11,551	East University . . .	8,747
Kozminski	5,432		

groups very doubtful. These factors along with the fact that a very high percentage of residents are employed in other communities, the ease of contact through newspapers, movies, museums, libraries, etc., in other parts of the city, are all conducive to impersonal relations in the urban neighborhoods. But the question arises, does neighborliness of the primary group type exist in an urban neighborhood, and if so over what sized areas does it spread, how is the relationship formed, and by whom? We shall attempt to answer these and similar questions by presenting first hand documentary material from the Hyde Park ecological neighborhoods.

We have found that the two University neighborhoods are much alike in occupations, and home ownership. We shall, therefore, discuss them together in respect to neighborliness. The Boulevard area and the Hotel Coast may be joined together for like reasons, as may the Ray and Kozminski neighborhoods. This gives us three areas for presentation instead of six and should aid in our understanding of the situation.

Neighborliness implies close, intimate contacts formed upon a basis of territorial proximity. It extends all the way from acquaintance to deep and lasting friendships and involves talking together, making formal and informal "calls," visiting in one another's homes, lending and borrowing, granting favors, giving sympathy, and in extreme cases even granting material aid. It is expressed to the fullest extent in isolated rural neighborhoods. In the University Neighborhoods of Hyde Park many of these relationships are expressed but, as we shall see, are in most cases aided by other factors besides proximity.

Similar occupational interests appear to be a factor conducive to neighborliness in the University areas, as the following extracts show:

"The residents of the block on Blackstone Avenue from Fifty-seventh to Fifty-ninth Streets have always been University people, more or less, although more so now than formerly. Among this University crowd there exists an atmosphere of friendliness and social intercourse, but they are as indifferent to outsiders, I fear, as the outsiders are to one another. The apartment houses have created great mobility here, although the owners of homes are generally residents of thirty or forty years."⁴²

"Two new residents living on Dorchester and Fifty-seventh Street are very much impressed with this as a neighborhood. Of course, practically all of their social and other interests

⁴²Adapted from Sheldon, "Hyde Park Study," Social Science Research Building, University of Chicago.

are connected with the University. They said several churches had been in touch with them. This, they thought, showed some neighborliness. While they did not know the people on the street except to recognize them, the people in the building were very congenial. Here one of the girls laughed and said some were a little too friendly. They counted up and found they knew most of the people in the building. The older girl said she met them at the mail boxes usually and they would all stop and chat for a while. They also would come to each others' doors and borrow things or change a dime for nickels. In speaking of the neighborliness of the people, they thought they were more neighborly here than in some communities in Chicago. The girls seemed to have friends living near. They said they would not hesitate to ask anyone in the building or nearby living on the street, to help them if they ever needed help badly. In some neighborhoods, they remarked, 'you could not even do that.'⁴³

A student who studied several blocks on Kimbark and Kenwood Avenues speaks of the University as a factor in producing neighborliness. He says:

"Aside from the University there is no unifying factor and the residents have no real neighborliness. They have other wide-spread interests and take only a casual interest in their community. Some live where they do because they have become accustomed to Hyde Park and intend to remain; others say it is still the best locality in the city to bring up children, for it has the advantages of clean air, lake, and parks, with no industrial plants to bring undesirable citizens."⁴⁴

"A professor's family living on Kenwood near Fifty-sixth Street considers this section of Hyde Park as a neighborhood combining advantages of a small town with those of a city, and believes it is more like a small town than a city community. Nearly all the families consist of University professors, their wives and children. Nearly all the neighbors know each other well and enjoy meeting each other for they are people with common interests. Few people belong to clubs other than those connected with the University."⁴⁵

The preceding cases show aspects of neighborliness in the form of friendliness, congeniality, acquaintance, asking favors,

⁴³Adapted from Nelson, "Field Study," Social Science Research Building, University of Chicago.

⁴⁴Adapted from Blair, "Block Study," Social Science Research Building, University of Chicago.

⁴⁵Interview, Document A.

borrowing, etc., but all the families and individuals are connected with the University as a basis of common occupational interest. The main factor is perhaps occupation rather than proximity. In addition, we notice that the size of their congenial groups is only that of a building or a few houses, at most, only a block. Other cases of occupational connections are similar to the one quoted.

Another factor aiding in the formation of neighborliness is that of institutions. The following cases show how the church is a factor:

"Since Mrs. M— joined the Hyde Park Baptist Church she has made numerous acquaintances and several good friends. She asserts that no small town church could have been a more friendly organization, for the Sunday School teachers have taken a special interest in her children and several of the ladies of the church have called at her home. In the new and attractive apartment building at Fifty-sixth and Kenwood where she resides, Mrs. M— has found several congenial families."⁴⁶

"Mrs. B— is delighted with the neighborhood in which she lives [Kenwood near Fifty-sixth Street]. A member of the church extended a friendly hand in greeting as soon as they arrived. For the first two or three months, the B— family received so many dinner invitations that they had very little time to themselves. Mrs. B— has lived in Chicago about a year and a half. The children are happy, too, and the B— yard is often filled with children. Mrs. B— belongs to several organizations outside the church. She has spent most of her life in New York City. The residential district in New York lacked the friendliness of this University neighborhood."⁴⁷

"The G— family has lived along Fifty-fifth Street and Lake Park Avenue for the past nineteen years. They are at present located on Lake Park near Fifty-sixth Street, where they have lived for the past ten years. 'We do not know but one or two families living near us and these belong to our church,' said Mrs. G—. 'They are moving in and out all the time. The children are all acquainted, however, with the exception of the Negro children. The white and Negro children never mix. The Negro children have one place to play and the white children another.'⁴⁸ Most of our friends are in the

⁴⁶Interview, Document U.

⁴⁷Interview, Document G. This was a minister's family.

⁴⁸This is the area with the highest percentage of Negroes in Hyde Park.

church. The church is located in another neighborhood."⁴⁹

Had it not been for the church in the cases above, it is doubtful if neighborly contacts would have been made. The church, however, tends to form friendships that are scattered over a wide area, providing it is a community church and not a neighborhood church, and those in Hyde Park have their memberships scattered over a wider area even than the community.⁵⁰ This would work against our conception of the neighborhood as an area where friendships are made on a basis of proximity.

Where no occupational or institutional mutual interests exist in the neighborhood, neighborly contacts are very rare, as the following examples will show:

"Mrs. B—, living on Dorchester near Fifty-fifth Street, says: 'We came here from the South Shore in order to send our son to the University. We chose this place because of a friend who lived near and also because there were few suitable places. We have lived here two years but do not like it at all. If it were not for the conveniences we would not stay. There is very little neighborhood spirit. I do not know the people in the building when I meet them. The children near Fifty-fifth Street play together but adults do not show any sign of being neighborly.'⁵¹

"Mrs. F— has a speaking acquaintance with the six families in the apartment building on Kenwood near Fifty-seventh Street but none of them are her friends especially. She knew the landlady before they moved in. This may have helped to make acquaintances. The best friends of the family are scattered over Chicago. Several are in Austin, where the family formerly lived. They knew many more people in Austin than they know in Hyde Park. People were easier to meet in Austin. The family has lived in the neighborhood for ten years but only one year at the present location. Mr. F— is employed in the steel business."⁵²

"Mrs. G—, whose husband is a laborer, came from Scotland two years ago. The family is English but had lived in Scotland for fifteen years. They live on East Fifty-seventh Street near Dorchester. Mrs. G— believes it was easier to become acquainted in Dunbarton, Scotland, than in Chicago. She knows three or four families here but three of these are because of acquaintances made in Scotland. Two of these

⁴⁹Family document 35.

⁵⁰See *supra*, p. 36.

⁵¹Adapted from Nelson, "Field Study," Social Science Research Building, University of Chicago.

⁵²Family document 38.

families lived in Dunbarton and the other is a Scotch family that the father knew before the wife came. This latter family lives in the apartment next to theirs. The other two Scotch families live on Harper Avenue. The fourth is an American family that lives above the G—'s in the same building. The G— family know no other families in the neighborhood."⁵³

In the preceding case, the relationship appears to be one of culture rather than proximity. There appears to be little beyond the barest acquaintance in the following case:

"Mrs. I— and family lived formerly in the suburbs of Brooklyn, where there was much neighborly feeling. Their present home is on Fifty-eighth Street near the University High School. They know few of their neighbors. Mrs. I— stated that she knew none of the families next door. She said that Albert, her oldest son, had a best friend in the building next to theirs but that she did not know this boy's parents. 'This family, as is the case with most of Albert's friends, has more money than we have and associates with a different group. The children associate together because of common interests in school but not the parents.' Mrs. I— stated that they had lived at their present address for four years and were on speaking terms only with other families in the building. Mrs. I— is a little closer to the women living just above her. Mr. I— is an instructor in a private art school and knows no one in the neighborhood. His friends have been made through professional contact."⁵⁴

"The B— family lives on Maryland Avenue near Fifty-seventh Street. They have lived in the same house, a single dwelling, for the past eight years. Mr. B— is an instructor in Lane Technical High School. They like the neighborhood and Mrs. B— says that they would not consider moving. It is quite a stable neighborhood. The neighbor to the north of B—'s has lived there fourteen years and the one to the south the same length of time. Mrs. B— says she calls on these neighbors on either side of their residence only once or twice a year. The visit is returned only about as often. Mrs. B—'s best friend in the block is four houses away. She calls on this woman quite often. The B— family's best friends are scattered over the city at such distances that when they do come they stay all day. This is not often, however, for they are 'all too busy.' The B—'s attend the Disciples University Church. Their best friends are not in the church."⁵⁵

⁵³Family document 39.

⁵⁴Family document 39.

⁵⁵Family document 34.

In the following two cases, neighborly feeling seems to be expressed although no other socializing factor appears except proximity. These two areas are near Fifty-fifth Street. Other cases from near Fifty-fifth Street show like neighborly contact on a basis of proximity. We have described Fifty-fifth Street as an area of disorganization where many laboring people, and others with very simple types of work, have their residences.⁵⁶ It may be, as Professor Park states, these "incompetent persons" are the ones who maintain an interest in local affairs and are the ones who are the only real neighbors in our great cities. Professor Park says:

"It is the incompetent persons, apparently, who still maintain an interest that could in any sense be called lively in the local communities of our great cities. Women, particularly women without professional training, and immigrants who are locally segregated and immured within the invisible walls of an alien language are bound to have some sort of interest in their neighbors."⁵⁷

The cases are as follows:

"Mr. and Mrs. E— and family live on Kimbark Avenue near Fifty-fifth Street. They live in a three story brick apartment with the two sections of the apartment facing each other across an open court. The apartment is like a U-shaped building except that the back part of the U opens through to the alley. The E— family has lived in the same apartment for ten years, longer than anyone else in the apartment. The children have spent most of their lives here. In the two sections of this building are twenty-eight apartments. Mrs. E— knows six families very well. They are very good friends. They entertain one another in their apartments with teas, cards, etc. Four other families who live in the building are acquaintances of Mrs. E—. Some families that formerly lived here have moved away, but still come back to visit because of the acquaintance made while living here. The apartments are arranged differently from the ordinary apartment. The rear of each apartment opens on a common porch. This may be conducive to acquaintance and friendship. The women who meet in the building are of all ages and interests. It seems to be proximity that has brought about this acquaintance."⁵⁸

The following family lives on Maryland near Fifty-fifth Street in an old apartment building:

⁵⁶See supra, p. 27.

⁵⁷Park and Burgess, The City, p. 113.

⁵⁸Family document 37.

"The M— family has lived here for the past three years. Mrs. M— knows seven families in the apartment. They visit one another, go shopping together, talk from back porches, and meet on wash days in the back yard. All the families have children and the children use one of the basement rooms for parties. They all contribute to a common fund every week which goes at Christmas time for decorations, peanuts, candy, etc., for a big celebration. Mrs. M—'s son, twelve years of age, is treasurer of this group. Mr. M— is employed in street work for the city. Other men in the building are employed in such occupations as taxi-driver, drayman, ice-cream mixer, etc."⁵⁹

One section of the University Neighborhoods maintains, or at least tries to maintain, the old neighborly feelings and sentiments of thirty or forty years ago when Hyde Park was a rural village. This small area is Harper Avenue from Fifty-seventh to Fifty-ninth Street. The area was formerly known as Rosalie Court, a rather secluded residential section. Mrs. A—, who lives on Harper Avenue, says:

"Yes, we have a neighborhood club composed of housewives of the neighborhood. We have teas and meetings and get acquainted generally. I think there is quite a spirit of neighborliness in this section. About five University families live on the street, probably more. I think it will become a University neighborhood in a short time. The people here have united to prevent the erection of apartment houses. There is only one apartment building on the street now and I cannot imagine how that could have happened."⁶⁰ These two blocks are very much like a small town in their spirit and lack of apartments."⁶¹

It would appear, then, that the University neighborhoods have various phases of neighborliness expressed but in most cases these attitudes are built up and maintained because of the influence of common interests in an occupation or in an institution. The exceptions are among the "incompetent persons" in the Fifty-fifth Street interstitial zone and on Harper Avenue where a few influential old residents have succeeded in preventing apartments from coming in, and this very conflict between apartments and single homes has been the means of maintaining an old neighborhood spirit from the village days of Hyde Park. Where no common

⁵⁹Family document 10 a.

⁶⁰This area is one of the two areas of Hyde Park which are zoned for single homes.

⁶¹Interview, Document M.

interests exist very little of the neighborly attitude appeared. Families lived in apartments for years with little above speaking acquaintance. Even where neighborly attitudes were expressed, the area over which they spread were very small, part of one apartment or a distance of only a few doors away. Several of the families that showed a neighborly attitude lived in single homes or small apartments. The large apartment does not seem to lend itself to neighborliness. The greater mobility in the larger apartment and the greater congestion of population would be factors.⁶²

The Boulevard area and the Hotel Coast do not appear to contain so much neighborly contact as do the University neighborhoods. These areas do not have the advantage of the University as a factor in making neighborly contacts. The areas, too, are much more highly urbanized in that they have more apartments and apartment hotels. The intimate contacts that are found here appear to be made through the church or were made outside the community and transferred here when the families moved from the west, chiefly from Grand and Drexel Boulevards. The following statements from residents show this to be true:

"Mrs. R— moved to her present location 'because of their many friends living near by.' The friends had come from the same district on Grand Boulevard."⁶³

"Mrs. K— moved from the Grand Boulevard region to Hyde Park because 'all of her friends were coming.'"⁶⁴

"The L— family, formerly lived on Drexel Boulevard but moved 'because they did not have any friends among their neighbors.' The friends had moved to Hyde Park and they followed. They have made some new friends among their neighbors in Hyde Park."⁶⁵

"The N— family like Hyde Park because of the newness of their church,⁶⁶ because it is almost entirely free from Negroes, and because their friends and relatives live in the

⁶²Mr. Conway, who studied the apartment-house dweller, says: "The apartment house is an index of urbanization and its advent in Hyde Park signaled the doom of the village mode of life" (*op. cit.*, p. 102). A little later he states: "The old type of neighborly intimacy is confined almost entirely to the flat and to the small apartment housing six families or less. Mobility increases with the size of the building" (*ibid.*, p. 169). See also: Carpenter, *op. cit.*, p. 237.

⁶³Family Document 5.

⁶⁴Family Document 9.

⁶⁵Family Document 25.

⁶⁶Isaiah Temple.

neighborhood. The friends were largely met through the church."⁶⁷

Other examples seem to show that contacts of a neighborly kind are very rare. The following are examples:

"Mrs. K—'s friends are scattered throughout the city."⁶⁸

"Mr. V— has no relatives in the city and his friends are scattered throughout."⁶⁹

"Many of Mrs. P—'s friends live out of the city, although she has a circle of friends in various parts of Hyde Park."⁷⁰

"Mrs. R— has her friends scattered over the city and states that 'there is no reason why the Hyde Park district should have attracted them.'⁷¹

A statement from an old resident shows the conflict with the Jews:

"The D— family do not like Hyde Park as well as they used to because 'they hate to be in the midst of such a large Jewish population and because the large hotels and apartments are spoiling the landscape.'⁷²

A study of hotel life in one of the large residential hotels in Hyde Park by a student who has lived there for seven years reveals the nature of primary group contact, or the lack of such contact, on the Hotel Coast. She says:

"The majority of the residents are Jewish. On the whole, there is a friendly feeling between all the guests, though it is noticeable that the non-Jews are seldom seen in the lobby and that their tables in the dining-room tend to be in one part of it and the Jews in another. The hotel is no longer the primary group of thirty years ago. Each room is a world unto itself if the guest in it desires to be segregated. Though the walls are thin enough to allow voices to carry from one room to another and though the odors of cooking (forbidden) blend in the halls, a guest seldom knows his next door neighbor. Actually, however, he does know his neighbor, not personally, of course, but by observation. One sees the same faces in the dining-room, the lobby, the halls, and the lounge; the same young gentlemen call for the same young ladies on certain evenings. Guests get interested in one another merely as fellow guests and what they cannot find out about one another they make up. Hotel life gives prestige to a guest in his own eyes. He becomes a somebody. The elevator boys know him, the clerks greet him, the waiters are delighted to

⁶⁷Family Document 28.

⁶⁹Family Document 6.

⁷¹Family Document 14.

⁶⁸Family Document 4.

⁷⁰Family Document 7.

⁷²Family Document 19.

serve him, and even the telephone operators know his voice. He is not a mere dot lost in the wilderness of a great city; he is an individual that is known and respected by employees and fellow guests."⁷³

"My own experience, in one of the hotels in the Hotel Coast where I was a guest for the period of six weeks, was that, at the end of that time, I knew no one except the employees of the hotel and one little boy about eight years of age who frequented the lobby. Everything is provided for one's physical convenience and that is all that is expected."⁷⁴

The Ray-Kozminski neighborhoods appear to lie between the University neighborhoods and the Hotel Coast in respect to neighborly contact. There is some contact made on the basis of occupations and the church but most of the cases studied show little neighborly contact. Several of the families living near Fifty-fifth Street showed more friendly feeling toward their neighbors than in other sections. The old residents all complain about the strange new people who are coming in and remark that the neighborliness of thirty and forty years ago is gone. Conflict with the Jews appears to be more pronounced in these areas than in the others. This may be due to the fact that the process of change here is just being made, whereas, in areas to the north, the change is largely completed. The Jews have not entered the University areas yet to any great extent. One case will suffice to show us the Gentile-Jew conflict. Mrs. K—, living on Greenwood near Fifty-fourth Place, says:

"The only thing we dislike about Hyde Park is the Jews. If we should move it will be for that reason alone. So many of the Jews are crude and illiterate. They must be just out of the Ghetto. I have refused to have anything to do with the Parent-Teachers' Association because of the ignorant Jews in it. Why, not long ago one of the crudest ones came here to have me work on her committee! The idea of having that ignorant thing tell me what to do! You ought to hear them at some of their meetings. They sound like a bunch of magpies. They are not all that way, for there are some nice Jewish people. There is a family upstairs as nice as you could find any place. They are moderately well educated, good mannered, and know how to raise their children. Recently they had a death in the family and I took the children while they were away. You couldn't find better behaved children. But most of

⁷³Adapted from an unpublished study: Jane Newberger, "Hotel Life."

⁷⁴"Hotel Experience," The Author.

the Jews spoil their children. The parents argue with them until the children will not mind. Hyde Park is not as desirable as it used to be because of the Jews. My husband belongs to the Hamilton Club. Many of our friendships have been made through this club. These friends are scattered over Chicago. None of them live in Hyde Park. We have lived here four years."⁷⁵

As far as adults are concerned, it appears that no neighborly contacts extend over areas larger than a block. In most cases the intimate contacts are confined to one building or two. In many cases where these contacts are made it is because of the influence of other factors, such as contact through institutions or occupations, rather than proximity alone. The amount of friendly contact varies from area to area. Apartment house life, the size of the population, mobility, and cultural conflict appear to be the factors interfering with the formation of primary group contacts.

When we come to the children we find a different situation than we do with adults. The areas over which they form intimate contacts are not much larger, but contacts of an intimate friendly nature are usually formed where children are found. It would seem to be as Professor Park has said, "Children are the real neighbors." He says:

"However much the older generation may have been detached by migration and movement from local associations, the younger generation, who live closer to the ground than we do, are irresistibly attached to the localities in which they live. In a great city, children are the real neighbors; their habitat is the local community; and when they are allowed to prowl and explore they learn to know the neighborhood as no older person who was not himself born and reared in the neighborhood is ever likely to know it."⁷⁶

In a number of family interviews, special effort was made to study the contacts made by the children on an intimate face-to-face basis in the immediate vicinity of the home previous to entering school and in school. Where the children live close, the school is a part of the neighborhood, but on the whole the school district is too large for one neighborhood and friendly contacts of the pre-school child are sometimes strengthened or sometimes weakened as a result of school attendance. But usually the local

⁷⁵Family Document 1.

⁷⁶Park and Burgess, The City, p. 112. See also: Daniel Snedden, "Neighborhoods and Neighborliness," Social Forces, V (December, 1926), 232.

group remains important even though friends are made with those who live farther away, for the local group is handy at a time when there is leisure time. No differences in the groups that were formed were found in the various ecological neighborhoods, for it would seem that neighborliness is expressed wherever children are found.

A few cases will indicate the nature of children's groups formed on a basis of proximity:

"The neighborhood group of boys and girls, consisting of about ten, are the friends and playmates of Louis, age ten, before and since entering school. Most of these friends are older than Louis. The group will not go beyond the alley either way from Maryland. In fact, the group across the alley throw stones at them. These children would not think of going across the street toward Fifty-fifth Street. The Fifty-fifth Street group is recognized as not their kind. The members of the group live on both sides of Maryland Avenue.⁷⁷ Louis' best chum was met early before going to school and they both go to the same school and are still friends. Louis' best friends were not met in school but in the neighborhood."⁷⁸

"Bernard, age ten, has a group of friends around the apartment with whom he associates. He now is in a group of seven neighbors' children. The group is formally organized and Bernard is captain. They got their idea from the police department. 'The gang,' as they call themselves, play across the alley in a neighbor's back yard. There are two Jewish boys in the group."⁷⁹

"The children around the apartment co-operate for certain parties and general good times. Last fall each child contributed five cents per week to a general fund for a Halloween party. They did this for several weeks before the time and since there are fifteen children the fund was quite large. They bought lanterns and other paraphernalia out of their joint fund. The party was held in the basement of one of the apartments. Parents were invited and everybody had a good time. The mother who was being interviewed said, 'most of the families in this building with whom we are on speaking acquaintance were met through the children. Before we had any children we would live in an apartment several years without knowing anyone.'⁸⁰

Children appear to be the means of bringing about

⁷⁷This appears to be a social block for children.

⁷⁸Family Document 34.

⁷⁹Family Document 37.

⁸⁰Family Document 51.

neighborly contact among adults, especially the mothers. It would seem that adults can live for years in an apartment where there are no children without so much as speaking acquaintance, whereas, if the families have children, they become acquainted in a short time. The following case will illustrate the point:

"Mr. and Mrs. G— have two daughters, aged eight and thirteen years. The family formerly lived at Lake Park and Fortieth Street but moved recently to Maryland near Fifty-fourth Street. 'We like it much better on Maryland than we did in Lake Park,' said Mrs. G—. 'The apartment there was better, too. There were sixteen families in the apartment building where we lived on Lake Park and in five years we were on speaking acquaintance with two families. One of these families shared our back porch. The other family we met because of the death of the husband. My mother was with us at the time and became acquainted with the widow, who had some grown children. We had the only young children in the building. I was miserable all the time I was there. For two or three years, I was never more than two blocks from home. Since coming to Maryland, one and one-half years ago, we have become acquainted with all the families in our building, six in number. We know two families in the next building and I know another family on Ingleside and Fifty-fourth. These families were met in the neighborhood largely through the children. All the families in this neighborhood have children. We have a very large back yard where all the children gather to play and the parents often watch from their back porches and thus get acquainted. The people on Lake Park were older people, many of them in business. They had different interests from young people like us. Here there are more young people with children. If I had only known this five years ago I would never have lived in the Lake Park apartment. The children enjoy it here, too.'"⁸¹

In order to determine the distances children will go to meet friends, children⁸² in the Kozminski school were asked to state the distance to their best friend's home. Answers from 223 children showed that 55 per cent of the best friends were within a distance of two blocks and that only 16 per cent fell outside of the one mile circle.

When we examine the children's reasons for liking the neighborhood, we find that most of them are concerned with other people, usually children. The majority of the reasons may be

⁸¹Family Document 47.

⁸²Seventh and eighth grade children.

condensed into such phrases as: "My friends live there; nice children or people live there; know most everybody; boys my size; girls I like; have lived there so long; children not stuck up; people well educated; etc."⁸³ Reasons for disliking the neighborhood are significant because the children expressed a liking for the old neighborhood or wished for more friends. For example, they said: "Few girls of my own age; not many boys; liked the old neighborhood best; few friends live there; etc."⁸⁴

Children express the neighborly attitude much more freely than adults. The child's first world is a primary group world, that of a family. He extends this relationship to the neighborhood, if he is permitted, during his pre-school days and later. Here he becomes socialized in his contact with other children. His personality is formed here and in the family. The adult develops other interests, such as those in the occupations. These, in the large city, are diverse. The adult's income will determine where he must live. If he moves to an area other than that of his childhood, he is likely never to regain a knowledge of his neighborhood similar to that which he had when a child. The adult becomes detached, therefore, from local areas; his interests are usually more than community wide. For the child, however, no other interests exist than those of the family and local neighborhood at first. Later his interests are extended to the school. If the school is a neighborhood institution, as it sometimes is, he continues his neighborly contacts on a local basis and remains, in the large city, the best neighbor.⁸⁵

Next to the child, the best neighbor is the mother. If she is unemployed outside the home, her interests are largely centered in the home. Local contacts are made largely through her children. If the mother lives in a neighborhood where no other children are, she is likely to remain isolated from the local area.

The child's neighborhood in the city is more like that of the old rural primary group, except that the area he recognizes

⁸³Condensed from statements of 204 children in the Kozminski School that expressed a liking for the neighborhood.

⁸⁴Condensed from the 23 statements that expressed a dislike of the present neighborhood.

⁸⁵If boys grow into manhood in the same neighborhood, they are likely to maintain their early friendships. In a few years after manhood they are likely to become scattered and lose track of their childhood friends. Recently I talked to a man about thirty years of age in Hyde Park who had returned for a reunion with his old "gang," but could find but one of the members, a barber, who had a shop in the neighborhood.

as a neighborhood is much smaller and his friends are more highly selected, at least they become more highly selected, as he reaches the upper grades and high school. He develops from a naïve personality at first to one that is more sophisticated and in adult life becomes detached from local areas. If he becomes highly specialized in occupation, he becomes a man of the world and free from the local area. This is unlike the rural adult, who may maintain his early primary group connections throughout his lifetime.

In this chapter, we have contrasted the urban and rural neighborhoods; located the ecological neighborhoods in Hyde Park, an urban residential community; discussed these areas in regard to the neighborly attitudes; and concluded by explaining the nature of child life on neighborhood basis in the city. Since the children, and perhaps the mothers, are the only real neighbors in the city, we should pursue still further the growth and extent of intimate contacts made by them through other means than the neighborhood. This will be the task of the following chapter.

CHAPTER IV

THE GROWTH OF THE ACQUAINTANCE HORIZON THROUGH URBAN INSTITUTIONS

The family is the child's first group. It is usually, but not always, a primary group.¹ Whether the family is a primary group or not, the child is likely to seek and make informal friendly contacts in his local neighborhood, as we have shown in the last chapter. As the child grows older, he is brought into contact from time to time with various institutions, the church, the school, scouts, Christian associations, clubs, and when he reaches adulthood he enters an occupation. These institutions and others are the means of bringing him into contact with other people. Many of these contacts grow into primary groups and make a lasting impression upon his personality.

The purpose of this chapter will be to examine some of the primary group contacts made through urban institutions and to point out their influence upon personality. In the last chapter, we considered the nature and extent of neighborhood contacts and in the chapter following this one we shall consider more fully the influence of the home and family. This chapter will supplement those two.

The church and the school in early rural communities and neighborhoods reflected the local folkways and mores.² The local sentiments, feelings, and customs of the family, the church, the school, and all other institutions coincided and re-enforced one another.³ Here the institutions were rather complete in their

¹Professor Faris points out that not all families are primary groups and that the "we" feeling is the best criterion of the primary group (Ellsworth Faris, "The Primary Group: Essence and Accident," American Journal of Sociology, XXXVIII [July, 1932], 41-50):

²Sims, op. cit., p. 55. See also: James M. Williams, The Expansion of Rural Life (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1926), p. 118.

³In speaking of the church, Professor Burgess says: "Historically, and in the rural community, the church is a 'family of families.' For the church is peculiarly the institution in the

control of the local situation.

Even in rural communities today, the influence of the church is less than formerly,⁴ but it is in the large city, however, where the church has changed most. Some churches, it is true, try to maintain the old rural neighborhood relationship in the city setting.⁵ These churches usually fail or appeal to a limited few in the community. The neighborhoods in the city are vastly different from those in rural districts, as we have shown in the last chapter. The church finds it necessary to modify its organization and program to fit the new needs. Some of these new needs are in regard to child life, especially their recreation and leisure time interests. Some city churches have endeavored to meet the new situations by employing specialists to work with boys and girls. The specialists have guided the children in club and scout work, in various forms of recreation, and other leisure time pursuits. City Y.M. and Y.W.C.A.'s usually have special departments for boys and girls of all ages with trained leaders for directing the work.

The extensions of the work of the school in caring for the welfare of the child are too well known to need elaboration here. With the extension of the age limit for school attendance both upward and downward, the tendency is for the school to assume functions formerly held by the family.⁶ More and more of the child's time is being taken up by the school. With the possible exception of the family, the school has the child under its care during the formative years longer than any other institution.

The church and the school in the large city have branched out into many sub-institutions.⁷ We are interested, in this

community that maintains the common cultural heritage which has its concrete expression in familiar and personal ideals. In the rural community of the past the church was typically the social as well as the cultural center" (Smith and White, op. cit., p. 147).

⁴Williams, Expansion of Rural Life, p. 224. Cf. Blumenthal, Small-Town Stuff, p. 358. Cf. Robert S. and Helen M. Lynd, Middletown (New York: Harcourt Brace & Co., 1929), p. 276.

⁵Carpenter, Sociology of City Life, p. 242.

⁶Park and Burgess, The City, p. 24.

⁷Professor Hughes says: "It is characteristic of city life that people in general live in the midst of powerful institutions of whose existence they are scarcely aware" (Everett C. Hughes, The Growth of an Institution [Chicago: Society for Social Research, 1931], p. 1).

chapter, in those that deal specially with child life, such as organized playgrounds, boys' and girls' clubs, scouts, Christian Association, athletic leagues, etc. For it is in these groups more than in the formalized work of the church or the school that the child is brought into informal intimate contacts which grow into primary groups. These primary groups supplement those made in the family and in the neighborhood.⁸

In a series of thirty family case studies made in Hyde Park where a special effort was exerted to determine the nature of friendships made by the children in the neighborhood and the school, it was found that, with the exception of a very few children, friendships were formed in school in addition to those in the neighborhood. Some of the children who were kept isolated during the pre-school period formed their first friendships in school. Most of those who had not enlarged their group of friends to any great extent as a result of school attendance were still quite young. Their school friends and neighborhood friends were the same. As to friendships made through school contact, the following are typical:

"Edward, aged eleven, was quite a timid youngster and had few playmates, but since going to school has had a small group of friends during the last three years."⁹

"Benjamin, who is now eleven, has met all of his friends in school and not in the neighborhood. This family has moved considerably. An older boy in the same family has his small group of friends in school."¹⁰

"A girl, eleven years old, who was 'never out of her mother's sight' until she started to school, 'became attached to a small clique of girls.' She still associates with these girls and is inseparable from them. In this same family is a boy who has never made a very close friend even in school. 'His interest is in mechanical things.'¹¹

"Many children, especially girls, made a single close friendship. When in grade school, Nora met a girl older than she whom she just worshipped. Nora had a greater attachment for Eleanor than Eleanor for her. These girls are still friends although they are in separate schools. Nora always had other friends, too."¹²

⁸The neighborhood in the large city is a very small area for the child. Therefore these institutional contacts broaden the child's primary group (see supra, Chap. III).

⁹Family Document 41.

¹⁰Family Document 44.

¹¹Family Document 38.

¹²Family Document 37.

"Helen had one very good chum while in Kozminski school and another while in Hyde Park High School."¹³

"Since attending high school Harry has one special friend in a college professor's son. They are together all the time. The parents of this chum are fond of Harry, also."¹⁴

"Since going to grade school Eva has a group of friends. One playmate is as good a friend as another."¹⁵

"Ernest has no special chum that he plays with as all the boys are his playmates."¹⁶

Many of the families interviewed mentioned friendships formed in other organizations. Sunday School and church societies are mentioned by over half of the families. Only in a few cases, however, were the most important friendships of the child formed in Sunday School. In a minister's family, the best friends of the children were all formed in the church. The minister lived in the immediate neighborhood of the church; the church was small, had cultural unity, and a nationality bond. The membership was made up of a number of primary groups. The following statements from family studies will indicate the nature of these contacts:

"When Arthur was fifteen and sixteen he attended Junior church services and enjoyed it very much. He dropped out when the very inspiring leader left. A younger son, who always had some one all consuming interest, attended both Sunday School and Junior church but has not cared much for either. He joined the Scouts and Y.M.C.A., but dropped both, although he got considerable pleasure out of swimming, rifle range, and hobbies for a time."¹⁷

"Helen belonged to Sunday School but was never very much interested. She was more interested in the Girl Reserves and the Scouts for a period of about two years."¹⁸

"Helen has little interest in Sunday School. She goes because it is the thing to do. Meeting people only once a week is not sufficient for important friendships."¹⁹

"Bernice has several good friends in her Sunday School class of twenty-five girls. She met many new girls not found in the neighborhood or the school."²⁰

"A leader of a boys' group at one of the churches stated that 'the boys form some very strong friendships' in his group. He has reference to boys who would neither meet in the neigh-

¹³Family Document 43.

¹⁴Family Document 36.

¹⁵Family Document 51.

¹⁶Family Document 33.

¹⁷Family Document 41.

¹⁸Family Document 43.

¹⁹Family Document 37.

²⁰Family Document 38.

borhood nor in school. He felt, however, 'that the boys were more interested in the activities, such as games, hikes, etc.,' rather than what he called the 'religious part.'²¹

The boys' department of the Community Y.M.C.A., located at Fifty-third Street and Dorchester Avenue, offers opportunity for boys to meet in various classes, groups, and activities. Some of the members of the groups who meet there have had previous contact in school, neighborhood, and especially in the Hi-Y groups, but many meet for the first time in the Y. Different age groups have different times for meeting. This is helpful in forming friendships. The fact that the children may meet in the Y.M.C.A. every day after school in informal congenial groups means that it has an advantage over a church which meets once a week.²² A disadvantage of the Y.M.C.A. is that all children cannot afford memberships or live too far away. Several of the mothers interviewed in the family studies mentioned the Y.M.C.A. as one of the chief interests of their sons. The following case is an example:

"As soon as school is out, George goes to the Y.M.C.A., where he is now interested in hobbies. He is very much interested in swimming, too. He is very much attached to several of the boys he has met there. One of them, living in another neighborhood and attending a different school, he visits quite often."²³

It is clear that many intimate primary group contacts are formed through various organizations, such as the school, church, Sunday School, Y.M. and Y.W.C.A., Scouts, etc. Many of these contacts grow into lasting friendships. These friendships influence the development of the child's personality. We shall now point out some of the influences on personality of these contacts.

In the first place, it would seem that friendships are essential to a wholesome well developed life for most individuals. A satisfaction of the "wish for response," as Thomas would say.²⁴ This wish may be satisfied in the family of the child by intimate association with parents, brothers, and sisters. But the child has other contacts outside the family and this wish must be satisfied in all primary groups; otherwise the groups are not primary groups.²⁵

²¹Interview with Boys' Leader.

²²Some churches have activities for children through the week.

²³Family Document 30.

²⁴William I. Thomas, The Unadjusted Girl (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1923), 17-31.

²⁵See supra, Chap. I.

A teacher in one of the grade schools of Hyde Park related to me the story of a little girl in the sixth grade who came in in mid-year from another school.

"Anna's grades from the other school were above average; she was a neat appearing, pleasant girl but in three weeks she was failing in her work and appeared altogether unhappy. After she had begun to fail I had a talk with her one evening after school. After considerable time and patience, I found that she didn't like our school nor the class. She wanted to return to the old school. I asked her if she liked her other teacher better. No, it wasn't the teacher but her friends. 'No one likes me here.' She had such good friends at the other school. When it was called to my attention, I recalled that the girls in the class were quite friendly together, that is, there were several small groups or cliques which were inseparable. The girls were not snobbish nor impolite, but just thoughtless. Shortly after that I spoke to one of the girl leaders in the class and asked her to try being congenial to Anna. Before the year was out, Anna was a member of one of the groups and all her difficulties had disappeared."²⁶

This girl, due to a happy situation, was able to make adjustments quickly. Some children would have developed an isolated personality, or some might develop anti-social behavior. The same teacher said a strange child in school is often very unhappy in appearance and in actions. Most children make friends quickly upon entrance or have some means of being recognized.

"Billie came recently from another school and takes great pleasure in condemning everything in this school. He is successful in influencing some of the boys in following him. He is playing truant now. He is not all right physically. He has poor eyes for one thing and is not strong."²⁷

Several examples show that the child who is handicapped in some way must do daring or unexpected things to gain recognition and response. The best example is the following case, related to me by another teacher in the same school. This case is significant also in that the boy came out of his little episode a hero, although he committed a criminal act. Recognition and response among his friends were more significant to him than a reprimand by the law.

"Jack was small and not especially attractive. He did not 'work' in very well with the school program. He was too small for athletics, and interest in his studies was not sufficient to give him the recognition he desired. He had come from

²⁶Interview.

²⁷Interview.

another school, so had to form new friendships. This was a rather slow process until one day when he was out with a small group of boys and they came to a car parked at the curb. Jack said to the others, 'let's take a ride.' They, supposing he was joking or bluffing, replied, 'all right,' and got in with Jack at the wheel. When he started the car and began to move off, some of the boys were afraid and said, 'Oh, I didn't know you really meant to take it.' Jack replied in his superior way, 'If you are scared, I will let you out but I am going for a ride.' They stayed in. They drove only a few blocks and returned the car without being caught. This happened on several different occasions until the boys were very bold. One day they were in a stolen car and were arrested on the Midway for speeding. It was discovered that the car was stolen. The boys went to the Juvenile Court with Jack accepting all the blame. Being the first offense, they were released and Jack was placed on probation. The account had been published in the paper, so the next day in school Jack was the center of interest during all intermissions. They all swarmed about him, boys and girls, asking him to tell again and again of his thrilling experience. There was not a happier boy in school than Jack. He was the hero of the hour."²⁸

It would appear from the foregoing case that individual morality arises out of group situations, and that the direction the development of a personality may take depends upon the sanction of intimate friends. The control is in the form of a sanction of Jack's behavior rather than that of condemning it. The tendency here would be to form an attitude among the members of the group of looking upon theft lightly. This would be an important influence unless the child had other primary group contacts which would counteract it. Thomas makes the same point when he says:

"Practically any plan which gets favorable public recognition is morally good,—for the time being. And this is the only practical basis of judgment of the moral quality of an act,—whether it gets favorable or unfavorable recognition."²⁹

Hartshorne and May, by a recent series of tests and statistical analyses, have come to the conclusion that there is a code of morals for every group and situation among children, for example, a Sunday School code, a gang code, a home code, etc. Whether a code carries over into other groups depends upon those individuals with whom one associates. One may be taught in Sunday

²⁸Interview.

²⁹Thomas, The Unadjusted Girl, p. 243.

School not to steal but, if one's gang sanctions stealing, it is more likely to dominate, for the gang is a closer type of intimate association than is the Sunday School. According to Hartshorne and May, the contacts of most significance in molding the child's morality begin with the family, then friends outside the family, school teachers, and last Sunday School teachers.³⁰

The point made by Hartshorne and May is illustrated in the following case in Hyde Park:

"Arthur and his group of eight or ten friends formed a very close intimate group. They attended the same school, and most of the boys were members of the same class, but lived in different neighborhoods. They all attended the Y.M.C.A. together but were members of different churches. Most of the members of the group were together when there was a period of leisure time. One day as the boys were going along the street to the Y.M.C.A. they passed a new building which was nearly completed, but the yard was still covered with rubbish of cement, pieces of brick, etc. The boys stopped to pick up the fragments of brick and to toss them about. In doing so Arthur threw one piece through one of the new windows. The janitor, who was there, came out and demanded to know who broke the window. Arthur confessed immediately that he did it and that he would pay for it. Later Arthur was telling of his experience to another friend at the Y.M.C.A. where he was overheard by the boys' leader. Arthur was relating to his friend that he told the man that he broke the window but that the next time he [Arthur] would not confess. The leader, overhearing this, asked Arthur why he would not confess next time. Arthur's reply was that, 'all the guys razzed me because I told. They said that the man had no way to find out which one of us did it.'³¹

Arthur's future behavior in like situations had been influenced by the attitude of his friends. If his friends had praised him for his action, he would likely have repeated his behavior in another similar situation. In other words, it was not the "teachings" of the church, nor school, nor Y.M.C.A. which determined Arthur's future conduct but the attitude of his friends.

Although the participation of the child in friendship groups seems to be essential in most cases to the complete development of the personality of the child, the influence exerted upon him may cause him to behave in such a way as to be considered

³⁰Hugh Hartshorne and M. A. May, "Testing the Knowledge of Right and Wrong," Religious Education (October, 1926), p. 539.

³¹Interview with Y.M.C.A. leader.

wrong or delinquent by society. This is true in the case of some gangs and in truancy. In the following case, the boy obeyed the demands of his friends rather than those of his family or the school:

"George was twelve years old and in the sixth grade. He had been playing truant from school and home for nearly a year. He had been punished both at home and at school. At home the mother tried persuasion and sympathy, but the father knew only one method and that was to beat the boy. At school a great variety of punishments had been used. George had three or four close friends with whom he associated. One or two or all of the boys would play truant with him from time to time. One day the mother called up the boys' leader at the Y.M.C.A. to obtain help in finding George, who had not returned home the night before. The Y.M.C.A. leader found George and one of his friends on Fifty-fifth Street in a very unkempt and dirty condition. The leader asked George why he had not gone home. The boy's reply was that his father would beat him. The leader informed George that his father surely would not do that because they were worrying about him at home and wanted him there. George's reply was that one day, when he was supposed to be home at twelve and was ten minutes late, he got a beating for it and yesterday he had not gone home from school because he was late and afraid to go. When the leader suggested that the police patrol would likely be after him if he did not go, he replied that he would rather go to the police station than go home."³²

In this case it would seem that George sought intimate contact with a small group of friends and at the same time sought to escape from the home and the school. The friends were becoming more and more the only source of sympathy for his ills. The family and the school were not primary groups in this case, for the primary group is "characterized by intimate face-to-face association and co-operation."³³ The only place George received this kind of "association and co-operation" was with his small group of friends.

In this chapter we have discussed the growth of the acquaintance horizon of the child as he extends his intimate contacts to the intimate groups in other community organizations, such as the church, school, Christian Associations, Sunday School, etc. We have indicated some of the influences of these contacts upon personality.

³²Interview with Boys' Leader.

³³Cooley, Social Organization, p. 23.

The school is the most important formal organization promoting friendly contacts among the children. Some children have no friendly contacts outside the family until they go to school, while others extend their group of friends or make a new selection as a result of school attendance. The Sunday School, church, and other organizations offer opportunity for intimate contact among the younger children, but these organizations are not as significant as the school. The time spent in these organizations is of much shorter duration.

The friendship group may lead the members into a wholesome relationship where their behavior is sanctioned by society or it may lead to an unwholesome condition for the members and be in conflict with society. Whether the friendship group moves in the one direction of sanction or into conflict depends upon what Thomas calls the definition of the situation.³⁴ If the members of the friendship group have sufficient contact of a primary nature in other groups, they are not so likely to come into conflict with society. If the group is left to itself to define the situation, the members are more likely to develop into a criminal gang or become delinquent.

The moral code of the group arises out of the group situation and the child may develop different personalities providing he has intimate contacts in groups with different moral codes. This permits the urban child to develop much more of a variety of personality traits than the rural child. The rural child is under a much more stable environment than the city child and has not the opportunity to meet such a variety of new friends. Then, too, the rural codes of the family, church, and school are likely to be much more nearly in harmony than they are in the city. The neighborhood, school, and church friends are likely to be the same persons. The child in the city is offered more opportunity for a variety of developments but at the same time more opportunities for unwholesome as well as wholesome personality.

Before the neighborhood or the church or the school has an opportunity to influence the child, he is under the control of the home. Since the home has the child under its direction during the child's most formative years, there is perhaps no organization that has quite its influence upon character and personality. For that reason we felt that the home deserved a special chapter. This we shall consider next.

³⁴William I. Thomas and Florian Znaniecki, The Polish Peasant in Europe and America (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1927), II, 1847-49.

CHAPTER V

HOME CONTACTS AND THE URBAN ENVIRONMENT

The industrial revolution has brought great changes in the functions of the family and the home. Industry, the state, the church, and commercialized recreations have now assumed many functions once the sole prerogative of the home. In the pre-factory age nearly all the economic functions were performed in the home with all members of the family participating. Their leisure time was spent together either in the home or the neighborhood and community. Care of the sick was a home duty. The education and training of the child was a duty of the parents and even many of the religious activities were carried on in the home. Professor Ogburn says: "In the agricultural era which preceded this industrial age, the functions performed largely by the family were six--affectional, economic, recreational, protective, religious, and educational."¹ Now many of these functions, all or in part, have been assumed by other organizations. The preparation of food, clothing, and shelter has been assumed by the factory. Recreation is now provided for by commercialized agencies or by the state. Protection of the child and the adult from disease germs, from exploitation in labor, and from many other dangers is now performed by the state. The church or its subsidiaries carries the burden if not all of the functions relating to religion. The education of the child, and, even now the adult, is carried almost entirely by the school, the church, or some other organization.² This leaves only the affectional function. Even this function may be threatened with the growth of the tendency to place the child in the hands of a trained nurse-maid or the tendency toward nursery schools.

¹Margaret E. Rich (ed.), Family Life Today (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1928), p. 31. Cf. L. K. Frank, "Social Changes and the Family," The Annals, CLX (March, 1932), 94-102. Cf. John Dollard, The Changing Functions of the American Family (Chicago: University of Chicago Libraries, Private edition, 1931), pp. 1-43.

²The family does retain some of the informal functions of education.

Several students of the family do not appear to be alarmed at the loss of so many old functions of the home. Others go so far as to say that the loss of still other functions would not injure the family and very likely would improve it.³ They have in mind that the chief function of the family, as it is today, is affection; that when these other functions are "stripped" away the parents will have more time for "stimulating and directing their children, interpreting life to them and fellowshiping with them."⁴ Professor Ogburn would seem to agree that "the family largely must look to one bond alone to hold it together, namely the bond of affection."⁵ He mentions, as also significant, the duty of the family in passing down the cultural heritage by shaping the personality of the child and giving it its social heritage of language, habits of work, etc.⁶ Professor Burgess would emphasize the significance of the cultural heritage. In addition to affection "the family has an equally great function as a medium for the transmission of the cultural heritage."⁷ Professor Mowrer indicates that the home is a retreat for the husband and wife; that it is a place for sympathy, appreciation, and encouragement; that it brings an integration of hopes and purposes; and that it is the place of first adjustments of the child to other individuals.⁸

It is quite clear that the functions of the modern family are vastly different from the days before the factory system was introduced. The machine age reaches its greatest complexity in the large city. It has penetrated into rural areas but not to the extent it has in the city.⁹ The family in isolated rural areas approaches more closely to the type common before the industrial

³For instance, it is indicated that nursery schools, with trained leaders, could perform the task of training the child in habit formation, as in eating and sleeping, much better than most parents (Ernest R. Groves, The Drifting Home [New York: Houghton, Mifflin Co., 1926], p. 208). Cf. James S. Plant, "The Child as a Member of the Family," The Annals, CLX (March, 1932), 70.

⁴Groves, op. cit., p. 53.

⁵Rich, op. cit., p. 36. Cf. Plant, op. cit., p. 71.

⁶Rich, op. cit., p. 27.

⁷Edward B. Reuter (ed.), The Family (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1931), p. 317.

⁸Ernest R. Mowrer, The Family (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1932), p. 277.

⁹Cf. McClennahan, The Changing Urban Neighborhood, p. 100.

revolution. Dr. Schmeideler, after studying a group of rural families, a group of town families, and a group of city families, reports that the rural group resembles in many respects the family prior to industrialization, in that, each family forms an industrial unit, an economic unit, a recreational unit, etc. The small town was similar except that more adults of the family worked away from home and more girls left the town for city work. In the city he found that the home was not an industrial unit and the workers of the family were scattered into different types of work. The home was less an economic unit, in that funds of the wage earners were not pooled. The home was dependent upon wages and not upon the co-operative work of all members of the family. The child was a liability and not an asset as in the rural district. The mother, however, had more time for home-making and training of children.¹⁰

It is in the city, then, that we find the family most completely stripped of its former functions. It is the material aspects of these functions that have been most completely lost. The non-material aspects, in many cases, still linger on. This may be explained, first, from the nature of cultural change, in that the material aspects usually change more rapidly than the non-material,¹¹ and, second, because the movement of rural families to the city has been very rapid during the last half century and the rural folkways and mores have not had time to change in the new environment. This is a cause of much disorganization of family life in the city.¹² The old "ordering and forbidding technique"¹³ which functioned adequately in the rural districts, is attempted in the city, but no longer succeeds. It simply drives the individual to another group where his wishes may be better satisfied. In the city a relative code tends to be substituted for the absolutism of rural areas.¹⁴

The apartment house home is vastly different from the old rural homestead. Everything is furnished in return for the payment of rent. Both husband and wife may work in different kinds of work outside the home and build up two sets of friends through

¹⁰Edgar Schmeideler, The Industrial Revolution and the Home (Washington, D. C.: Catholic University of America, 1927), pp. 10 ff.

¹¹Cf. Frank, The Annals, CIX, 94.

¹²Ernest R. Mowrer, Family Disorganization (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1927), p. 167.

¹³Thomas and Znaniecki, The Polish Peasant in Europe and America, p. 3.

¹⁴Mowrer, Family Disorganization, p. 168.

their occupational contacts. They may eat their meals in restaurants but if they do eat at home the delicatessens furnish food ready cooked or the stores furnish ready prepared foods. The radio may keep them home for an evening but at the same time dance halls, movies, theaters, night clubs, etc.,—all public places of amusement, invite them to spend their leisure outside the home. If there is a child the procedure may be varied, at least while the child is young. A nurse-maid may be employed, however, by the more wealthy, or a nursery school used by those of lower economic status. The apartment home tends, in many cases, to become a dormitory.

The types of family life in the city are not all the same, however. They vary from zone to zone in the city pattern.¹⁵ Professor Mowrer divides Chicago into five types of areas: "(1) non-family areas, (2) emancipated family areas, (3) paternal family areas, (4) equalitarian family areas, and (5) maternal family areas."¹⁶

The non-family area "tends to find a place in or near the center" of the city. The emancipated families are in the rooming house, kitchenette-apartment, and residential-hotel areas. These areas tend to be near rapid transportation and they cut across other zones. The new immigrant family represents the paternal type. They usually reside in the second zone surrounding the business center. The equalitarian family resides in the third zone and are made up of the middle and professional classes. The maternal family type is represented by the commuter on the outer edge of the city.¹⁷

Mowrer's classification gives us five types of areas and four types of families. The four types of families are vastly different from one another. One could very likely find in the paternal family area many immigrant families with rural, old-world folkways and mores that are ill adapted to the new surroundings, whereas, in the emancipated family area, we find young married couples, some without "benefit of clergy," who are as free from the community folkways and mores as though old customs did not exist. The other two types would appear to lie somewhere between, in that they maintain a resemblance to the old type of rural family, if it is no more than having a home and rearing children.

Hyde Park lies in the equalitarian family area. In describing this area Mowrer says:

"Here there are children, though families tend to be

¹⁵See supra, Chap. II.

¹⁶Mowrer, Family Disorganization, p. 110.

¹⁷Ibid., pp. 111-14.

small. There is a minimum of superordination and subordination in the relationship between husbands and wife in these areas. The wife has interests outside the home, delegating the care of the children largely to a nurse-maid."¹⁸

The census of 1930 shows that Hyde Park had 13,950 families. They lived in 2,735 dwellings of which 1,949 families lived in one or two family dwellings and 12,001 lived in three or more family dwellings. If we consider the three or more family dwelling as multiple-apartment, then 86 per cent of the families live in this type of dwelling. New City, in 1930, had 40.9 per cent of the total families in the community in multiple dwellings; South Shore had 73.4 per cent; and the Near North Side, 73.3 per cent. In the same year the average number of families in these multiple-apartments for the four communities were as follows: Hyde Park, 9.9 families per apartment; New City, 3.6 families; South Shore, 8.6 families; and Near North Side, 6.8 families. The median number of members per family were: Hyde Park, 2.0; New City, 3.4; South Shore, 2.4; and Near North Side, 1.8.¹⁹

These data show us that Hyde Park is almost completely an apartment house area, being considerably higher in percentage of multiple-dwellings than the other communities mentioned; that it has larger apartments; and that it has smaller families.²⁰ We can say, therefore, that Hyde Park is highly urbanized and that the families found there will be good representatives of the urban residential area of the apartment house type.

Our special interest in this chapter is not to make a complete study of the family in this area, but to study some of its primary group aspects. For the family is the first primary group, and perhaps the most important one, in forming the personality of

¹⁸Ibid., p. 111.

¹⁹Calculations from Burgess and Newcomb, Census Data of Chicago, 1930. In 1934 Hyde Park had 13,028 families, of which 2,481 lived in one or two family dwellings (including the classification, "all others") and 10,547 lived in three or more family type of dwelling. This shows a reduction in the three or more family type of dwelling from 86 per cent in 1930 to approximately 81 per cent in 1934. The change, perhaps due to the depression, has been toward smaller dwellings. This is opposite to the trend toward multiple dwellings which persisted prior to 1930 (see Appendix A, pp. 189-90, Tables K and L).

²⁰The one exception in respect to size of families occurs in the Near North Side. This is undoubtedly due to its large rooming-house area, which houses many single persons (see Chap. II).

the child.²¹ We have indicated that many of the pre-industrial functions of the family have disappeared. What functions are still left to a family in an urbanized apartment house area like Hyde Park? What methods of guidance and control are used here in the training of children? Where do these methods fail and where succeed? What is the extent of the participation of members of the family as a group in home and outside activities? Finally, what is the effect upon personality, especially that of the child, due to the type of home training received?

In order to answer these questions, I have chosen short selections from two types of family case studies. The first group of families are those that appear to have the affectional function uppermost in the interaction between the members. They might be called successful or wholesome families. No major problems of control or delinquency appear in these families.²²

The second group of families are lacking in the expression of affection. They may be characterized as unsuccessful or unwholesome. Delinquency, truancy from home and school, and other problems are prevalent.²³

Among the affectional families there appears to be some variation in respect to the use of corporal punishment. It is

²¹Cf. Mowrer, The Family, p. 125. In saying that the family is the most important primary group in forming personality, I do not mean well integrated personality only, but also disintegrated types. In fact, the family may influence in the development of all kinds of personality, the so-called "good" or "bad," depending upon the family.

²²These families were selected by the principals of the two public schools in Hyde Park with the aid of their teachers. The principals were asked to select about fifteen families from each school. The families were selected because it was indicated by their children that they had had good home training. In addition, the parents were known, in most cases, by the principals or teachers. The number of families was placed small enough to insure a rather high degree of selectivity. The principals then wrote a letter of introduction explaining to the families the nature and purpose of the study. Each family was then interviewed (usually the mother). The emphasis in the interview was placed upon the methods of guidance and control used in rearing their children, although other questions were asked about the neighborhood, the playmates, and friends of each child.

²³Taken from the South Side Child Guidance Clinic, Hyde Park Baptist Church.

doubtful if punishment and dominant authority can be used in a family and still maintain the family as a primary group. For punishment takes the nature of formalized control similar to that in an institution. The primary group is informal, intimate, face-to-face, where members give and take. Punishment makes for subordination and superordination and destroys the essence of the primary group.²⁴ If the punishment is rare and tempered with justice, understanding, and sympathy, it may be that this primary group element is not disturbed to any great extent.²⁵ Parents in America seem to have the impression that punishment is a necessary element in training children, for almost all use this form of control.²⁶ Affection might be the goal instead of obedience.²⁷ Affection would seem to be a necessary element in the primary group.

In the following cases, punishment is at a minimum or entirely absent. Control and training are brought about through sympathetic understanding on the part of the parents.

"Mr. and Mrs. H-- are Jewish of the conservative type.

They live in a four room apartment in a new building on Fifty-

²⁴Cf. Faris, American Journal of Sociology, XXXVIII, 49.

²⁵Children may remain loyal even though severely punished. Miriam Van Waters says that "ninety-nine times out of a hundred, the child witness in a case of parental cruelty before the juvenile court insists on going home" (Reuter and Runner, op. cit., p. 352). It is doubtful, however, if the primary group nature of the family is maintained in these situations.

²⁶Mr. Dollard says that 97 per cent of American families punish their children (op. cit., p. 15).

²⁷Miriam Van Waters says: "The discipline and training of children is popularly supposed to be the parents' chief duty. Under some systems of family life this is not theirs primarily. For example the Chinese practice exchanging sons 'when of the right age, for purposes of instruction, so that the necessary discipline should not be exercised by members of the same family and so vitiate the love between parents and children' (Quoted from Keyserling, Book of Marriage, p. 137). Chinese children are notoriously obedient to parents; even in America their respect is not uprooted, yet the conscious goal of family life is not obedience but affection." She goes on to say that the orthodox Hebrew mother sometimes refuses to discipline her son. Primitive parents leave the painful puberty ceremonies to others and do not beat nor scold their children. Many modern psychiatrists believe children should be sheltered by parents and given security (Miriam Van Waters, Parents on Probation [New York: New Republic, Inc., 1927], pp. 13-14).

third Street near Cottage Grove. The father owns a small store and the mother helps him in the afternoons. Mrs. H— was very anxious that their children receive an education since she and her husband had never had the opportunity. She came from Russia when a small girl but speaks English with very little accent. The apartment was furnished with a baby grand piano, phonograph and radio, while property belonging to the children was much in evidence. Mr. and Mrs. H— have a son, Max, aged eighteen, and a daughter, Ethel, aged eleven. 'My method of training Max,' said the mother, 'was to talk to him in an ordinary way. I never got excited, but patiently explained things to him, several times if necessary. I felt very badly at times about some things but held all of this from him. I never spanked nor scolded him. He was always a good-natured child and was never very ill. This helped some in his control. Before he was twelve, I could trust him to do just what I wanted him to do.' One parent never interfered when the other was dealing with the child. The father being away so much of the time, the mother has had the control largely in her hands.

"I have never allowed fears to develop in my children,' continued Mrs. H—. 'I believe fears are unnecessary if the child is controlled correctly. When Max was young, I had him with me all the time. When he had trouble with other boys, I told him not to fight. He always has let me know where he is. If he is going some place, he calls me on the phone to let me know or leaves a note. If he can't get home at the regular time, he calls up to let me know. I never have to worry about him. He will not do anything to displease his mother.' In the case of Ethel, the same methods of training have been used as in the case of Max, and with the same success."²⁸

"Mr. and Mrs. C— with their three sons and three daughters live on Lake Park Avenue near Fifty-sixth Street. The first floor (front) has been used for business but looks as though it is now deserted. The C— apartment is on the third floor. One enters by a long, wooden stair with old creaky steps, none too clean. The apartment, though plain, was very neat and clean. The furniture was of a very good quality and quite new. Mrs. C— was plainly but neatly dressed. She is Swedish and one may detect occasionally a Swedish accent in her speech. They have lived along Fifty-fifth Street or Lake Park ever since the parents were married. They have lived at the present address for ten years. Mrs. C— was very anxious

²⁸Family document 48.

that her children receive at least a high school education. This was true especially with the boys. It is not necessary with the girls 'for they will likely marry.' Boys must always earn a living. Mr. C— is a laborer. Two of the boys, who are old enough, work after school hours and the oldest daughter (nineteen) is a stenographer.

"Mrs. C—'s account of the control and training of the children is similar with all except one boy. Mrs. C— doesn't believe in whipping, but is successful in 'talking to' them and 'reasoning' with them. Persuasion is the best term to characterize her method. The control of the children is left entirely with the mother. Mr. C— does not want to be bothered with them. 'He hasn't the patience that I have.' She thinks it takes patience and sympathy to control children. The parents' difficulties were not discussed in the presence of the children. The problem of controlling David has been similar to the others except at one time. After he had been at Tilden for one-half year he wished to drop school and go to work. He had difficulty in algebra and did not like his teacher of algebra. He had to be whipped at this time before he would go back to school. Otherwise, David could always be controlled by 'talking to.'"²⁹

"Mr. and Mrs. H— and six children, three sons and three daughters, live on Kimbark Avenue near Fifty-fourth Street. They live in a large two story single apartment building. Mr. H— is a minister in one of the Hyde Park churches. In speaking of the oldest daughter, Mr. H— said: 'Ruth is easy to control, is serious minded and very sincere. My method of control is to treat the children fair, be consistent in what I tell them, watch their companions, and keep them away from the theaters. Some of the movies are all right but most of them are a waste of time when they are not injurious.' Mr. H— is not opposed to wholesome recreation, for he took his boys to Washington Park on Sunday afternoon to play ball and see the ball games. The control of the children is quite evenly divided between the parents because 'my work permits me to be at home much of the time.' Ruth has work to do at home, such as washing dishes, cleaning, etc. She has attended movies only two or three times in her life. 'There have been no problems of control with any of the children. We have tried to raise them to respect the rights of others, to be honest above all things, and to have regular duties and wholesome recreation.'"³⁰

²⁹Family document 35.

³⁰Family document 40.

"Mr. and Mrs. I— and three children, all daughters, live on Greenwood Avenue near Fifty-second Street in a three story apartment. Mr. I— is a doctor. In speaking of home training Mrs. I— said: 'Mary, aged ten, is in grade 5A at the Kozminski School. She and her sister Alice (eight years old) were under the care of a Swiss governess for several years after they were born. The governess trained and disciplined them almost entirely. They had excellent care as to diet and habit formation.' Mrs. I— felt that this early period of the proper physical care and habit formation is very important. It prevents irritability on the part of both child and parent and thus may prevent conflicts and inhibitions of personality. 'Mary never has a tantrum. Tantrums are due to improper training. When a child is reared properly there are no occasions for difficulties of control. In training them I try to enter their lives and see things in their way when I can. Sometimes when they want to do something I do not want them to do I call their attention to something else. This usually works. When it does not, I try explanation. This usually works with the two older girls. The youngest child, Helen (four years old), seems to be different. She has to be spanked at times.'"³¹

In the following cases, punishment is used only in the case of one child in the family. The others, according to the parents, do not need it. The conflict of Evelyn and her mother in the first case appears to be an example of what Professor Young calls the projection of the wish of the parent into the life of the child.³²

"The F— family, consisting of three daughters (two of them twins) and one son, lived on Drexel Avenue near Fifty-first Street. They lived in a large three story apartment building. The apartment was quite expensive and well furnished. Mr. F— is a realtor with offices in the Loop. Mrs. F— said: 'Roy was never a problem to control or discipline. He would always do what he was told and took things rather seriously. We never used corporal punishment with him, not because I didn't believe in it but because he didn't need it. Evelyn, two years younger than Roy, was very stubborn as a child. It is possible that I helped to make her so. I was determined that she should learn to play the piano. Evelyn wished to take lessons in art and has considerable ability of this kind, but I could see nothing in it. Evelyn hated the

³¹Family document 49.

³²Kimball Young, Source Book for Social Psychology (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1927), p. 374.

piano practice and I just had to make her do it. Conflicts here may have been carried over into other things. I used corporal punishment with her at times but not often.' Even now Evelyn will put off her work as long as she can; this may be due to the early conflicts. 'I have been able to control the twins by talking to them,' said the mother. 'I believe that I know better now how to train children. The twins are easy to control. They do things which exasperate me, such as going on the street, but I try to be calm and point out the dangers to them. I have never punished them. Their brother, Roy (twenty-two years old), is a great help in training the girls. He is very serious and patient with them and takes a great interest in their training.'³³

"Mr. and Mrs. A— with two daughters and a son live on Kenwood Avenue near Fifty-fifth Street in a single frame residence. They own their home. Mr. A— is a professional man. In speaking of Margaret, the oldest girl, who is now about eighteen, Mrs. A— said: 'She has never given the slightest problem in control. She has always done as requested. Mr. A— is a past-master at ridicule but does not create any antagonism in using it. He is very consistent in his dealings with the children.' The parents never interfere with each other in their dealings with the children. Mrs. A— admits that maybe Mr. A—'s ridicule has caused the retiring disposition of Margaret. The training was shared by both parents. Edward's training was similar to that of Margaret. Wilma, who is now thirteen, seems entirely different from the two older children. 'Corporal punishment, or threats of it, has been used. Wilma wants her way and will argue for it. The other children would not.' Mrs. A— thinks that Wilma is like her and that Mrs. A— did not recognize this clash at first but now knows more how to deal with Wilma. The problem of the family control of the children lessens when the children enter school, according to Mrs. A—. 'It is not only the fact that they are away from home more but they learn more about how others behave.'³⁴

"Mr. and Mrs. G— have two daughters, eight and thirteen years old. They live in an old apartment building on Maryland near Fifty-fourth Street. Mr. G— is a switchman on the railroad. Speaking of home training, Mrs. G— said: 'In training children I try to put myself in their place. I don't expect them to be angels. I remember my own youth. I can talk to Esther and by sympathetic dealing with her get her to do anything I wish. She has her rights and I have mine. I approve

³³Family document 46.

³⁴Family document 33.

her books and her shows. The control is left entirely in my hands. Norma has always been more difficult to control than Esther. I have just had to make her do some things. She likes to argue. She has ideas of her own. She is very independent and temperamental. I have used corporal punishment a few times. Unlike Esther, she likes housework and will ask to help at times and I let her and encourage her in it. Neither of the girls has any fears. I have always tried to avoid stories or anything that would frighten them."³⁵

"Mr. and Mrs. F— have lived in Hyde Park for the past ten years. They have a son aged fifteen and a daughter aged eleven. The type of apartment and its furnishings showed that they were moderately 'well to do.' Mr. F— is connected with the sales end of the steel business. 'Thomas was never difficult to control,' said Mrs. F—. 'He was spanked occasionally. Ridicule has been used but this makes him angry, and it is not best to use this method. He is too large now to spank, of course, so his parents just talk to him. He has never been a problem. He can be characterized as a timid child.' Control was left largely with his mother. 'There have been only minor problems of control in Bernice's case. She was spanked occasionally. When the children would quarrel together, I would have to take a hand and threaten them. Thomas teases Bernice, which makes her angry. She was never as timid as Thomas.' Both of these children were kept strictly in the mother's care during the pre-school period. The children had no playmates until they went to school."³⁶

In the following case, the mother takes an attitude of authority. The attitude may have been taken over from her knowledge and interest in law.

"Mr. and Mrs. K— have two daughters, ages ten and eight. They live in a large six-room apartment on Greenwood near Fifty-fourth Place. Mr. K— is an underwriter for a large insurance firm in the Loop. Mrs. K— studied law and was a court stenographer before her marriage. 'In training children I believe in being consistent in what I tell them,' said Mrs. K—. 'When I tell them to do a thing I mean it and the children know I mean it. It is not necessary to be severe or cruel to the children. Fear and respect do not go together. One can be kind yet firm. Training doesn't take place in a day; it is a long slow process and one must be watchful for seemingly small things. Forming the right kind of habits in regard to food and sleep are very important. I deprive the

³⁵ Family document 47.

³⁶ Family document 38.

children of certain play privileges in order to discipline and train them. I do not use corporal punishment. Oh! I have shaken them up a few times but one could hardly call it corporal punishment."³⁷

In the case that follows, the mother feels that she is too lenient in training her children. From my observation and inquiry about the children, it would seem as though they are as well behaved and as well liked as other children in this group of families.

"In a few of the families the mother felt that she had 'spoilt' the children. The case of the E— family is representative. There are two daughters, ages twelve and fourteen, and a son ten years old in the family. In the control of the children Mrs. E— thinks that she is 'too lenient.' She 'talks' and 'reasons' with them. She tries to use 'sympathy and persuasion.' Corporal punishment was not successful with Ethel, who is now fourteen. 'She is too stubborn. She is not hard to control and by being sympathetic and reasonable with her, one can get her to do most anything.' The father is more strict than the mother, but the mother has more contact with the children. 'I suppose one of my worst faults is inconsistency,' said Mrs. E—. 'I will tell the children to do something and then will not follow it through. I believe the children make a better showing outside of the home than they do at home. There are many little difficulties at home. In the case of the other two children the situation is about the same.'"³⁸

The training and control of children in the successful family groups or those with an affectional attitude can be characterized by sympathy and understanding. The methods used were "talking to" and "reasoning with" rather than severe corporal punishment or other extreme forms of discipline. Dominance and authority appear in only two cases and then in a mild form. In these cases, as in the others, kindness, reason, consistency, and an entering into the child's life were prominent. Only one of the mothers worked outside the home and that during the time the children were in school. The occupations of the heads of the households ranged all the way from laborers to doctors, lawyers, professors, and business executives. The training of the children was in the hands of the mothers in almost all cases. All except one family lived in apartments. We are justified in classifying these families as primary groups. The tendency in these families would be to produce personalities like those of the parents, that

³⁷Family document 51.

³⁸Family document 37.

is, with attitudes of sympathy, consistency, kindness, understanding, etc.

We may understand and appreciate the successful family cases much better when we compare and contrast them with the unsuccessful group of cases which follow. Severe corporal punishment takes a very prominent place in these cases. Sympathy and understanding are at a minimum.

"The Arnold family consists of the father, age thirty-nine, a taxi driver; the mother, age thirty-two, now at home but formerly working; and one child, a son, age twelve. George, the son, was referred to the Institute for Juvenile Research by Mrs. Edge, a neighbor friend of Mrs. Arnold. George had been truant from home on three different occasions, once for several days, and had been known to steal on two occasions. Mrs. Arnold complains that all delinquencies are the result of George's association with Donald Edge, the son of Mrs. Edge, who referred the case. George has an intelligence quotient of 95.8 and is in the Fifth B grade at school.

"The psychiatrist made the following report after examining George: 'Flat faced boy with soft features. Very mild mannered. Very earnest manner. He asked the examiner's advice as to where he may take exercise. He doesn't get enough in gymnasium and thinks he needs a lot more. He would like to get stronger than he is. "I am not very strong. Alfred Straus age ten can lift one hundred pounds." Alfred is a pretty nice friend. He states that he has no trouble with any of the boys in school. There are some Catholic boys around his place who hang around and throw things at him. He doesn't know why they do this but supposes they think everyone should be a Catholic. He is called "pink head," "skinny," and "butter-fingers." They think he can't catch fast balls. He can catch as well as the others with a mit but not without a mit. "That is why I want to take exercise, so that I can catch a ball better." He admits that he is called "sissy" only upon direct questioning. He objects to the nickname "skinny" most of all because he is not "skinny."'

"In an interview with Mrs. Edge, the neighbor friend of Mrs. Arnold, the following statement was obtained: 'Mrs. Arnold "ties down" George. She makes him play in the back yard and never allows him out on the street with the boys of his age. She then complains that the minute her back is turned he runs away from home.' Mrs. Edge feels that when a child reaches the age of ten or twelve years he is old enough to be trusted out of sight of his mother. Mrs. Arnold does not trust George. She never believes what he says until she has

checked up. She lets George know this and checks up in his presence. She examines his pockets after he has denied having money. She never appeals to his honor. Mrs. Edge feels that no child will try to do right unless he has something to live up to. Mrs. Edge trusts her children. She does not tie them down but leaves them on their own responsibility. They have not failed her. She expects them to be gone from home, but they always come to tell her where they have been and what they do. She shows an interest in their activities. Mrs. Arnold shows no interest in George. She only polices him. She does not make a friend of him. Mrs. Arnold talks about George and his failings before his face. She tells of all her troubles with him while he sits and listens. This pleases George because he feels that he is getting a lot of attention. Mrs. Arnold says, in George's presence, that she does not trust him. Mrs. Edge thinks that Mrs. Arnold uses too much corporal punishment. She beats George occasionally with a strap, and spansks him for nothing. His father whips him too. This makes George try to get even with his parents. It makes any child want to get even, to be whipped without knowing what it is all about, and without being reasoned with, and without being trusted. Mrs. Edge finds that there is not one of her children who profits by whipping. They all respond to reasoning. George is not given any responsibilities about the home. He has no chores to do. His mother has not used enough patience and made enough allowances for him. All children need much patience, and their mistakes have to be forgiven the first time. Mrs. Arnold is too nervous and gets excited too easily. It does not pay to do this, as the children catch a mood quickly and get all upset. A mother must be self-controlled.

"George and Robert, Mrs. Edge's son, were sent by Mrs. Arnold to pay a two-dollar dentist bill. Instead George spent the money for toys and then was afraid to go home. The boys went to Niles Center but Robert persuaded George to return. They arrived home at ten o'clock at night. Mrs. Arnold whipped George with a strap. Robert was not whipped. 'I reasoned with him, asking him if it was fair to me for him to go so far. It was Robert's first truancy and also his last. Mr. Arnold works as a taxi driver. He did not get home until four o'clock in the morning. Mrs. Arnold told him and he got angry, pulled George out of bed, and beat him again. This was on a Saturday night. Two days later George stole some money from the landlady. He said he had stolen the money to run away with. He was whipped again. Since this time he has

again run away from home, staying seven days.' Other delinquencies followed until Mrs. Arnold is at her wits' end.

'When George first began to run away and steal, his mother was working all day to help the father, who earns a scanty living. Then she did not give George sufficient supervision and care. She quit her job to stay at home and supervise George. She now watches him every minute. It has been a swing from one bad extreme to another. George has developed an air of resentment. He does not seem to care anything about doing right, but only in getting one jump ahead of his parents.'

³⁹

The chief points of interest regarding home control in the Arnold family may be summed up as follows: There was at first a lack of supervision and care in the home due to the mother working. George formed the habit of seeking his own pleasures in his own way. Then came very severe supervision and policing and whippings without any insight and understanding in the situation. The boy perhaps needed more care and sympathetic understanding even than the ordinary boy because of his physical make-up and inability to mix on a level with boys of his age.

"The McArdle family is composed of the father and mother and four children: Arthur, age nineteen, Harry, thirteen, Helen, six, and John, eight months old. The home is on the second floor of a three story building with a frame back and a brick front. At the back runs the Illinois Central Railroad. The home is entered at the back. The entrance is filthy and overflowing with junk. The rooms are dark, dirty, unattractive, meagerly furnished. The building is heated by coal stoves. The neighborhood is poor, just off a business street. The family is self-supporting and there is no history of mental disease or defects, no alcoholism nor venereal disease. There is heart trouble in many members of the mother's family.

"Harry was referred to the Institute for Juvenile Research by the school because of truancy, lying, and incorrigibility in the classroom. He is a member of a gang involved in stealing. He is in grade 5B and has an intelligence quotient of 74, which places him in the dull backward group. He is easily influenced, has a happy disposition, but a flashy temper.

"Harry does not get along well at home or in school. At school he realizes that he is 'dumb.' He does not like geography or arithmetic. He 'never could' get arithmetic and 'never will.' At home he does not get along with his father, who, he says, calls him lazy and dumb and has always 'ragged'

³⁹Case 103 A, South Side Child Guidance Clinic. I have used assumed names in all delinquent cases.

him. He beats Harry for many things, often at times, and then there will be long intervals with no beatings. Last evening Harry was whipped because he helped the battery man who lives and works beneath them and this annoyed the father, who said he would get his hands burnt with acid. Harry feels that this is unfair because his father is always after him to get a job. Harry fights with his brother, who becomes irritated with him and slaps him. This happens when the father is away at work. The mother usually interferes. He goes to the movies three times a week. He earns the money by running errands for his mother or the neighbors. He belongs to a gang that is composed of a number of delinquents.

"Harry's teacher stated that he is retarded, with poor scholarship generally. He is truant from school a great deal and has been a truant all of his school life. Some of this truancy may be due to the fact that his family has moved around continuously so that Harry has been in different schools. The teacher also has the impression from her contact with Harry's mother that the home life is not of the best, which may account for some truancy.

"The mother stated to the social worker that she just talks to Harry in trying to control him. She admits that she 'nags at' him. This does not work well. She has tried reproaching him and reasoning with him, but he only laughs at her. He is too big for her to whip. She leaves that to his father, whom Harry fears. If Harry is very naughty, a threat to tell his father is enough. Harry's father is really very harsh to him, as to all the children. He beats Harry for small offenses and, when angry (his temper is very bad and easily aroused), he will beat Harry until his mother has to interfere. There are many clashes between the father and all the children because he is so strict. They all fear him."⁴⁰

In looking over this case, it would seem that Harry has everything against him. He lives in a home with poor physical conditions in an undesirable residence neighborhood. He has low intelligence and causes much dissatisfaction at school. In the home no one gives him sympathy or understanding. He fears his father. Going to the movies and belonging to the gang appear to be about all that is left to him. The father's attitude of dominance and authority destroys the family as a primary group.

"The Page family consists of father and mother and seven children, four girls and three boys. Their ages range from one to twenty years with five of them ten or younger. Mr. Page

⁴⁰Case 10, South Side Child Guidance Clinic.

is a wire man with the South Shore line and earns thirty-five dollars per week. They pay eighteen dollars a month rent. The oldest daughter, aged twenty, is a telephone operator earning eighteen dollars a week, but lives with her maternal grandmother, so does not help support the family.

"The family now lives in a three room flat, third floor front of a building the first floor of which is used as a store. The flat is very dingy and dirty. The large number of small children makes it impossible to keep the rooms in an orderly fashion, and the mother apologizes for the unkept appearance whenever she is visited by the social worker. The father, who is now forty-two years of age, has been a heavy drinker, and has never stayed on one job very long, either getting 'fired' or leaving because he wanted a change. Since his marriage he has been on the move with short stays in different places. The family has been to Idaho, Missouri, Kansas, Kentucky, Alabama, and other states. The mother, aged thirty-eight, seems to be unable to supervise or control her children and unable to force her husband to settle down.

"Lucille, now nearly twenty years old, has been living with her maternal grandmother. She has been involved and has a record at the Juvenile Court of sex delinquencies. Recently she and a boy friend had a physician perform an abortion for her. The father says that he will never allow her to come home again. Mrs. Page charges her own younger sister, about twenty years of age, also living with the grandmother, with having loose morals and thinks she has gotten Lucille into trouble. Lucille and the relatives charge the father with cruel and unwarranted treatment. Lucille told the social worker that the father would not allow her to use rouge and lipstick and that she had no place to put her clothes with no room at home for herself.

"John, aged fourteen, feels very antagonistically toward his family and is not adjusted to life in the home. When asked what he dislikes about the home he says that he doesn't like 'the way his father kicks him.' When the father gets angry at the boy's behavior, he kicks him, and the boy resents it deeply. Another thing he dislikes is the way the parents 'favor' Henry, who is ten years old, 'and don't make him do anything.' He feels that Henry should have to do some of the chores, and that Henry does not do it, because the parents like him better than they do John. The mother states that she has not whipped John in two years, but has slapped him, and admits that the father has kicked him several times. John has

been involved in several delinquencies with a gang,⁴¹ the latest of which is the stealing of a Ford automobile."⁴²

In this case, we can explain John's delinquency upon the basis of his association with a criminal gang, but in the first place his association with the gang may be explained by the inadequate home situation. In summing up John's case, the social worker said: "His own delinquency is to be explained on the basis of his association with a group of delinquents and, in addition, an unstable home situation with inadequate supervision. We would suggest that he be removed from his parents' home and neighborhood."

The Page family falls far short of being a primary group. The father's attitude of dominance and his brutal method of punishing John, with his narrow ideas regarding his daughter's use of cosmetics, would tend to estrange the members of the family. Other factors are contributory, such as mobility and low economic status.

"Philip Haley, aged fourteen, has been associating with a gang for the past three years. He has been involved in several delinquencies with his gang friends. He has been driven to this type of association because of the unsatisfactory condition of his home. His mother has been married four times. The first husband died, the second, the father of Philip, obtained a divorce, and the last two husbands deserted. The mother has been accused of living with the last two men without marriage. Philip has been pushed about from place to place as a result of these different marriages of the mother. It appears to be a case, not so much of unkind treatment, as it is neglect. Philip sought his friends among boys on the street. These happened to be gangsters."⁴³

"The Laverne family is composed of the father and mother and eight children. They are now self-supporting and live in a good residential neighborhood, although they have a long record at the Chicago Charities. Several of the children have been delinquent or have been a problem in the school, home, or neighborhood. Part of the difficulty is due to the attitude of dominance and authority taken by the father. A social worker who interviewed the family wrote the following description: 'The father was a big burly man with a loud heavy voice. He seemed to dominate the whole family. When I went in, he

⁴¹The same gang mentioned above in the Mc Ardle family case.

⁴²Case 29, South Side Child Guidance Clinic.

⁴³Case 36, South Side Child Guidance Clinic.

said, "Here, get out of the way; let me talk to her." And the rest of the family certainly did get out of the way. The first time I called, the mother did not say a word. In fact, she stayed outside until her husband left the house, and then she entered the room. She is a pleasant appearing woman but shows a lack of education. When I visited her last week the father was not home, and the mother talked and talked. She talked for nearly an hour about her children. She has absolutely no control over them. When they did something that they should not do she would threaten to tell their father.' The father whips the children and they fear him."⁴⁴

The Haley case shows neglect of the child in the home. Philip had no place to go except upon the streets to seek his friends. The Laverne case is characterized by a dominant father and a weak mother. The family is large and near the poverty line.

The unsuccessful cases illustrate the futility of trying to punish children into good behavior. The outstanding method of control would seem to be severe corporal punishment. The fact that the children sought gang friendships and committed delinquencies, played truant, etc., shows that their primary groups were outside the home. Other factors, such as large families, poverty, disintegrated neighborhoods, broken homes, and mobility, simply intensified an already bad situation. When compared with the successful family studies, we see a reversal of methods of training. Where the first group of families used sympathetic understanding and reason, the latter group used dominance, authority, and severe punishment. The unsuccessful families are not primary groups in any sense of the term.

Fundamental attitudes and habits are formed in the primary group. The family, since it has almost complete control of the child during its most impressionable years, is especially important in this respect. In the unsuccessful type of family, the habits and attitudes are those of conflict, antagonism, and resistance. Friendship and sympathy are sought in other places. This may lead to delinquent gangs, as in the cases above. There, the child intensifies his hatred for dominance and authority. He learns to hate all authority, the school, the law, the home. This produces a bitter, resentful personality that is very difficult to recondition to orderly society. The home, if it were wholesome, would be able to forestall this type of personality in most cases. The city, with its great mobility of population, its disintegrated neighborhoods, the changing occupations, etc., offers an opportunity for this type of family to develop. The great city,

⁴⁴Document 60 and Case 9, South Side Child Guidance Clinic.

perhaps above all places, needs the wholesome type of family to bridge, for the child, these dangerous early years.

In earlier times and in rural districts, the family is more of a social unit than in the modern city. In the city, the members of the family act more as individuals in respect to social life as well as in other things.⁴⁵ They are more likely to seek amusements and entertainment outside the home, all selecting that in which they are most interested. They are not so likely to visit one another in their homes. Religious ceremonies in the home are rare, even in rural areas, as well as the city, except perhaps among orthodox groups. The question arises, however, as to the extent to which the members of the family participate as a group in social functions in the city. The following statements from family case studies attempt to answer this question. The first group of statements are from Jewish families and the second, Gentile.

"I found their home life to be very interesting. Friday night was chosen for literary night, and friends, usually around fifteen in number, would come and either discuss current events or read books suggested by some member of the group. Sunday afternoon is 'music day.' Dr. D— plays the cello, and there are four other men who together make up the orchestra. As to religious ceremonies and Sabbath services, they are conducted on Friday night, and the dietary laws are observed. The children are taught a great deal about Judaism, though the oldest is but four years of age."⁴⁶

"Friday evening is 'family night' and none of the children were ever allowed to be away from dinner. The father conducted Sabbath services which are most impressive."⁴⁷

"As to religious ceremonies in the home, none were observed until the husband became ill. Now all holidays are observed and the candles are lit on Friday night."⁴⁸

"Religious ceremonies are unobserved in the home but the family attends services every Sunday."⁴⁹

"The family acts as a unit, especially when they visit relatives and friends. This the young son objects to very much. He complained about how he was always dragged along whenever his folks went visiting."⁵⁰

"The family's leisure is usually occupied with reading,

⁴⁵Cf. Mowrer, The Family, pp. 23, 228.

⁴⁶Family document 1.

⁴⁷Family document 4.

⁴⁸Family document 5.

⁴⁹Family document 7.

⁵⁰Family document 11.

studying on the part of the children, and sewing by the mother. Often the younger girl plays with the children in the hotel. They read most recommended novels and newspapers. The family seldom visits, but always visits as a group when it is done. They attend religious services in the church regularly, but observe no other ceremonies in the home with the exception of lighting candles on Friday night, a ceremony for ushering in the Sabbath, a service which is mainly picturesque."⁵¹

"A great many of the religious ceremonies are observed in the home, in fact to such an extent that one cannot help but wonder why the children do not object to all the piety."⁵²

"Mrs. S— insists that her children be at home on Friday evenings, and though there are no religious ceremonies carried on in the home, Friday night being 'home night' has become a tradition."⁵³

"There are no religious ceremonies carried on in the home and the parents share in few of the children's interests."⁵⁴

The selections which follow are taken mainly from a group of Gentile families living in Hyde Park. More explanation is given in these excerpts of interests and leisure time activities of the members of the family. The interests are of value in this study because they tend to show the extent of group participation or individual participation.

"Evenings are usually spent at home together. The young people study and the mother reads. The young man teaches French in a religious school besides attending law school. When the work is finished they enjoy music. The two women are accomplished musicians, the mother performing on the piano and the daughter on the violin. They prefer attending the opera and concerts to visiting with their friends. They also go to the theater quite often. The members of the family seldom play cards. They enjoy reading recent books, novels, and particularly poetry. The only visiting that is done as a group is when calling upon relatives; otherwise each has his own friends. There are no religious ceremonies in the home although services are attended regularly on Sunday."⁵⁵

"Week nights are usually spent at home, but over the week-ends the boys look after their social engagements. The two oldest are fond of feminine company and often go out together. The youngest two prefer friends of their own sex and are shy

⁵¹Family document 22.

⁵²Family document 12.

⁵³Family document 13.

⁵⁴Family document 18.

⁵⁵Family document 19.

when confronted with women. The boys all make a supreme effort to acquaint their mother, who is a stranger in the city, with the mothers of their friends and often go visiting with her."⁵⁶

"The S—'s are greatly interested in child psychology and spend their leisure time reading books on the subject and testing their theories on their own five-year-old boy. Dr. S— writes articles and gives lectures on the subject. His work keeps him so busy that the family does not do a great deal of visiting among friends, even though they enjoy it. There are no religious ceremonies in the home."⁵⁷

"The parents' leisure time is spent to a large extent in visiting. They are fond of card playing and of the movies. Several evenings a week are spent in this way. They have no religious ceremonies in the home."⁵⁸

"The F— family consists of a comparatively young married couple and the middle-aged mother of Mrs. F—. Friends of the family and relatives are visited as a group, but otherwise Mr. and Mrs. F— go one way and the mother goes her separate path. Evenings are spent in visiting, playing cards, and at concerts and the theater. They rarely stay at home. There are no religious ceremonies in the home. The young couple never attend church although the mother goes occasionally."⁵⁹

"The L— family observe all religious holidays and attend services regularly. They are interested in church social organizations, both for young and old people."⁶⁰

It would seem that the Jewish families participate as a family group much more readily than do the Gentile families. This is largely due to their old custom of maintaining Friday night as family night, when candle services are held as a part of religious ceremonies. Otherwise the Jewish families are similar to the Gentile family in the city, that is, each member of the family seeks his own social life as his interests dictate.

In this chapter we have seen how the functions of the family have gradually disappeared since the coming of the machine age and the growth of great cities. Now only one function appears to be the sole prerogative of the modern family, that of affection. We have seen how families vary from one part of the city pattern to another. We have then examined two groups of families from an apartment house area and seen how the methods and results of con-

⁵⁶Family document 20.

⁵⁷Family document 21.

⁵⁸Family document 33.

⁵⁹Family document 24.

⁶⁰Family document 25.

trol have varied from the successful to the unsuccessful types. We then indicated the effect of these two types of training upon the personality of the child. Lastly we found that participation of the family as a group in social functions in the city is very small except with the Jewish families.

Nearly all the wakeful hours of the pre-school child are spent at play. After that, six hours per day for five days a week are spent in school. This, however, gives the child two whole days per week and several hours after school each day for leisure time. What he does during this time is very important in forming attitudes and habits. He learns at school to play with others, if he has not learned before in the neighborhood or his own family, and the associations that occur in play form important primary groups, which affect the growth of his personality. The leisure time activities of children will be considered next.

CHAPTER VI

LEISURE TIME CONTACTS AND PRIMARY GROUP CONTROL

The change of our economic order from domestic economy to the factory system with the accompanying growth of the city has brought a change in the recreational life of the people.¹ Recreation was a function of the home in this earlier day.² The family lived, worked, and played together. Play was largely local, taking place in the home or neighborhood. The introduction of the factory system has gradually changed all of this. The shorter and shorter working day has given more time for leisure and at the same time has given less space for play surrounding homes due to the congestion of populations in tenement and apartment house areas. The routine of machine work brought monotony of the worker and a demand for a release from this monotony by new types of recreation. The higher standard of living which has accompanied industrialization has permitted larger expenditures of money for leisure time pursuits. So there has been a gradual evolution from the more informal types of play, centering in the home, to the highly organized types of present day recreation. In regard to these changes in America, Professor Steiner says:

"The spectacular development of modern recreation has gone along with the rising tide of industry and the growth of cities during the past forty years. The expansion of recreation has been a large city movement and has gained acceleration as urbanization has advanced. As long as Americans were occupied chiefly with land settlement and the exploitation of natural resources, there was neither opportunity nor great necessity for an elaborate system of leisure time activities. But with the growth industrial cities began to expand and the whole tempo of American life changed.³ The modern recreation movement began to go forward when play gained

¹Cf. Paul T. Frankl, Machine Made Leisure (New York: Harper & Bros., 1933), p. 169. Cf. Jay B. Nash, Spectatoritis (New York: Sears Publishing Co., 1932), p. 49.

²See supra, Chap. V, p. 80.

³Jesse F. Steiner, Americans at Play (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1933), p. 9.

recognition as a means to healthful living and was no longer stigmatized as a form of idleness. The early years of this century saw not merely a marked decline in religious opposition to amusements but also the promotion of recreational programs by churches and other religious organizations. A new era in the history of recreation began when the government accepted responsibility for the provision of recreational facilities."⁴

Adult recreation did not gain full recognition until the years following the World War. This is especially true of athletics and sports, exemplified by the increase in attendance at football games, prize fights, baseball games, etc., and increased participation in golf, tennis, indoor baseball, hand ball, etc. Recreation appears now to be thoroughly established in our folkways.⁵

The industrial revolution has brought changes in the ways of spending leisure time in rural districts and small towns as well as the large cities but the changes are not so marked. Gossip and visiting still hold a prominent place in the smaller communities whereas they have almost disappeared from the city.⁶ Informal play groups or "bunches" of children in rural areas formed on a basis of proximity take the place of the boys' gang in certain disintegrated areas of the city.⁷ According to Professor Lehman and Witty, the play of country and city children shows conspicuous differences directly traceable to environmental opportunity. The country children were less mature than city children in their play interests.⁸ The rural areas and small towns have less mobile populations. Even the range of the play group of children may, when they grow to adulthood, determine the congenial neighborhood of adults.⁹ In isolated rural areas the leisure time activities of children vary strikingly from those in the city. Gardner and Legg found in a rural section of West Virginia that 781 children out of 1,929, or two-fifths of the entire group, attended motion picture shows very rarely if ever. They say: "Commercial amusements, parks and play-grounds made little contribu-

⁴Ibid., p. 11.

⁵Cf. ibid., pp. 11, 12.

⁶Cf. Williams, The Expansion of Rural Life, p. 153; Blumenthal, Small-Town Stuff, p. 135; Brunner, Village Communities, p. 117; McKenzie, The Neighborhood, p. 597.

⁷Blumenthal, Small-Town Stuff, p. 232.

⁸Harvey C. Lehman and Paul A. Witty, The Psychology of Play Activities (New York: A. S. Barnes & Co., 1927), p. 131.

⁹Strow, "The Human Resources of a Community," p. 58.

tion to the recreation of rural children. It was principally those living in or near towns who used such facilities."¹⁰

In less isolated rural areas and small towns the radio, movies, and the automobile have changed the leisure time habits of the people; for example, the church does not have the place it formerly held in leisure time activities.¹¹ Leisure time activities are of a more active variety in rural areas, according to Professor Carpenter, whereas in the city they are passive.¹²

In the large city there is a growing tendency for the people to spend their leisure hours outside the local neighborhood or community. This is especially true for adults and youths. Professor Burgess says:

"A map of the residences of dance hall patrons which shows the disappearance of the small public dance hall from the neighborhood and the concentration of large dance halls in 'bright light' areas is all the more significant because it portrays the phenomena of promiscuity. By promiscuity is meant primary and intimate behavior upon the basis of secondary contacts. In the village type of neighborhood, where everyone knows everyone else, the social relationships of the young people were safeguarded by the primary controls of group opinion. But in the public dance hall, where young people are drawn from all parts of the city, this old primary control breaks down."¹³

¹⁰Ella Gardner and Caroline E. Legg, "Leisure-Time Activities of Rural Children in Selected Areas of West Virginia," Children's Bureau Publication No. 208, U. S. Department of Labor (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1931), pp. 74, 78.

¹¹Blumenthal, Small-Town Stuff, p. 358.

¹²Carpenter, Sociology of City Life, p. 252.

¹³Park and Burgess, The City, p. 151. Cf. Ernest W. Burgess, "The Natural Area as the Unit for Social Work in the Large City," National Conference of Social Work, 1926, p. 505. Professor Young expresses the same thought when he says: "In the great cities where the primary, face-to-face relationships have been supplanted by casual and temporary connections, people seek their pleasures in regions remote from their work. These places where city people seek adventure come to have a special character of their own. The 'red-light' districts in many large cities, the 'tenderloin' in New York, and the 'Loop' in Chicago where the theaters and restaurants are located, are regions of the same. Here a certain portion of the population finds a place of recreation for the expression of its repressed impulses" (Kimball Young,

What is said here regarding dance halls is true of other types of recreation. There has been a growth during the last few years toward larger and larger moving picture palaces to replace the small neighborhood theater.¹⁴ These are located at the center of the city or in outlying 'bright light' areas or 'satellite Loops.' These moving picture palaces draw patronage from all over the city. What is true of dance halls and movie houses is also true of cabarets, night clubs, and road houses. During the prohibition days there was a tendency for road houses to be located on the outer edge of cities beyond the legal jurisdiction of the local municipalities.¹⁵

It would seem that there is a tendency for the whole city to become a playground for leisure time pursuits instead of the local neighborhood. At the same time, perhaps, the larger share of a person's time is still spent in the family and congenial group.¹⁶ The automobile, it is true, takes the family out of the community but at the same time it offers an opportunity for the whole family to enjoy activities together. Much of the family's time may be spent in the evening around the radio or in reading. The children of the family, especially those under high school age, are much more confined to the local neighborhood for recreational activities than are adults, that is, with exceptions of the mothers.¹⁷ With the exception of attendance at moving picture

"A Sociological Study of a Disintegrated Neighborhood," p. 45. Master's thesis, University of Chicago, 1918. Cf. ibid., p. 93. Cf. Zorbaugh, op. cit., p. 237. Cf. Paul G. Cressey, The Taxi-Dance Hall [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1923], p. xiv.)

¹⁴Lois K. Halley, "A Study of Motion Pictures in Chicago as a Medium of Communication," Chap. III, pp. 32-39. Master's thesis, University of Chicago, 1924.

¹⁵Cf. Mabel A. Elliott and Francis E. Merrill, Social Disorganization (New York: Harper & Bros., 1934), Chap. XXVIII, pp. 619-49.

¹⁶Professor Burgess says: "It must be remembered that the great bulk of recreation is still within the family and in congenial groups" (Smith and White, op. cit., pp. 166-67. Cf. Gist and Halbert, op. cit., p. 265.

¹⁷Professor McKenzie says: "Small children, mothers, and the older men are almost entirely dependent upon the neighborhood for their social and recreational life" (The Neighborhood, p. 496). This is one of the reasons for children and their mothers being the best neighbors in the city (Cf. Park and Burgess, The City, p. 112. Cf. supra, Chap. III).

shows, it would seem that small children and their mothers are largely dependent upon the local neighborhood for leisure time pursuits.

Much of the play time of small children is used in informal activities around the home, in the local neighborhood, on the streets, in the alleys, etc. Professor Thrasher, who recently has studied a disintegrating area in New York City, says:

"The lack of attractive home life and of other effective wholesome leisure time interests makes it inevitable that a very large proportion of the boy population from the earliest ages up spends its time on the streets. The younger boys play on the sidewalks and in the streets in their own blocks. This play takes place after school in the afternoons and, in many cases, until late at night; during vacation time, of course, it goes on all day long. The older boys from twelve years up, in addition to playing in their own blocks, are likely to range about throughout the area, visiting many different points which interest them, including the roofs of buildings, vacant buildings, the parks, the wharves, and the river front, and all types of institutions of commercialized recreation."¹⁸

As Shaw, Thrasher, and others have shown, unorganized activities of children during their spare time may lead to delinquencies. This is especially true in disintegrating areas where the local family and neighborhood control is weak.¹⁹

The effect of leisure time pursuits upon personality has not been studied in any comprehensive research project.²⁰ Here and there we have evidence, however, which indicates that the

¹⁸Frederic M. Thrasher, "Social Backgrounds and Informal Education," Journal of Educational Sociology, VII (April, 1934), 472. Cf. Raymond E. Nelson, "A Study of an Isolated Industrial Community, p. 206. Master's thesis, University of Chicago, 1929. Cf. Nash, op. cit., p. 38.

¹⁹In a study of 6,000 cases of stealing, Shaw found that nine-tenths of the cases involved two or more boys. This shows the significance of close association upon delinquency (Delinquency Areas, pp. 7-8). Cf. Thrasher, The Gang, Chaps. II and V. Mr. Thurston says: "Spare time is not only an important factor in the delinquency of three out of four of the juvenile delinquents studied, but frequently also in the delinquencies of young people and adults" (Henry W. Thurston, Delinquency and Spare Time [Cleveland: Cleveland Foundation, 1918], p. 180).

²⁰Cf. Burgess in Smith and White, op. cit., p. 170.

influence is great in this respect. Professor Gillin has shown that children of like ages have the greatest influence upon the child's personality, next come the parents, then older children in the home, then adults other than parents at home. He also says that the recreational life of boys is molded less by personal influences at home than that of girls.²¹ Professor Park says:

"The play group is certainly one of the most important factors in the defining of the wishes and the forming of the character of the average individual. Under conditions of urban life, where the home tends to become little more than a sleeping-place, a dormitory, the play group is assuming an increasing importance."²²

In regard to gangs, Park continues:

"Gangs have exercised a considerably greater influence in forming the character of the boys who compose them than has the church, the school, or any other community agencies outside the families and the homes in which the members of the gangs are reared. And it is quite possible that the influence of these homes have not been always and altogether wholesome."²³

Since the attendance at moving picture shows takes a prominent place in the lives of children in the city,²⁴ we should

²¹John L. Gillin, Wholesome Citizens and Spare Time (Cleveland: Cleveland Foundation, 1918), pp. 17, 20, 34, 49.

²²The City, p. 111.

²³Ibid., p. 112. A study made of 11,250 children in the eighth, ninth, and tenth grades distributed over all areas of Chicago shows that four-fifths of the boys and two-thirds of the girls met with a play group or gang one or more times in one week. Nearly half of the boys and one-fourth of the girls met four or more times in a week (Unpublished document, "Adolescents in Chicago, 1930").

²⁴A study made of 11,250 children in the eighth, ninth, and tenth grades distributed over all areas of Chicago shows that about two-thirds of all children attended movies once or more during the week. This is in great contrast to an isolated rural area, where two-fifths did not attend at all and the remainder very seldom (see supra, p. 105). In Chicago only 5.2 per cent of the boys and 10.9 per cent of the girls accompanied their parents to the movies. Over half the boys were with boy friends and a like number of the girls, with girl friends. This indicates the type of contacts formed through movies (Unpublished document, "Adolescents in Chicago, 1930").

examine this type of leisure time pursuit for its influence on character and personality. Professor Blumer has made a study recently showing the influence of movies on conduct. He says:

"We have indicated the great influence of motion pictures on the play of children. We have shown that motion pictures serve as a source for considerable imitation. Forms of beautification, mannerisms, poses, ways of courtship, and ways of love-making, especially, are copied. We have shown the influence of motion pictures on fantasy and day dreaming."²⁵

Professor Blumer goes on to say that movies affect the emotions of children; they produce terror and fright. They provide schemes of life, present ideas of how to act, and may implant attitudes. The movies present values to the child that are in direct conflict with those of the other institutions of the community. The child is too immature to understand that the pictures are for entertainment only. This is especially true of the least educated and sophisticated persons.²⁶

The influence of motion pictures on children in disintegrated areas appears to be greater than in more stable areas. Professor Blumer and Hauser say:

"Motion pictures play an especially important part in the lives of children reared in socially disorganized areas. The influence of motion pictures seems to be proportionate to the weakness of the family, school, church, and neighborhood. Where these institutions which traditionally have transmitted social attitudes and forms of conduct have broken down, as is usually the case in high rate delinquency areas, motion pictures assume a greater importance as a source of ideas and schemes of life."²⁷

²⁵Herbert Blumer, Movies and Conduct (New York: Macmillan Co., 1933), p. 193.

²⁶Cf. ibid., p. 197. Cf. Henry J. Forman, Our Movie Made Children (New York: Macmillan Co., 1933), p. 280. Cf. W. W. Charters, Motion Pictures and Youth (New York: Macmillan Co., 1933), p. 61. Drs. Hartshorne and May found that "children who attend the movies more than once a week tend to cheat slightly more than children who attend occasionally but less than once a week" (Hugh Hartshorne and Mark A. May, Studies in Deceit [New York: Macmillan Co., 1928], p. 411).

²⁷Herbert Blumer and Philip M. Hauser, Movies, Delinquency and Crime (New York: Macmillan Co., 1933), p. 202. Cf. ibid., p. 161. Cf. Paul G. Cressey, "The Motion Picture as Informal Education," Journal of Educational Sociology, VII (April, 1934), 512-14.

Professor Burgess points out that two new social types—the "sheik" and the "flapper"—have been created by the dance hall and the motion picture.²⁸

Even though there is a tendency in the large city toward more highly organized play activities and commercialized recreation which take the individual outside his local neighborhood for his leisure time, it is also quite clear that the larger part of time of small children especially is taken up in informal group play in or near the home, local neighborhood or community. These little informal primary groups have a very important place in character and personality formation.²⁹ The teachings and traditions of the home, school, church, and other community institutions may be strengthened or weakened by these informal groups, depending upon the total situation.³⁰ It would seem that conduct is determined by actual experience rather than by verbalization. In these informal play groups, if the tendency is toward delinquency, the teachings of the so-called "character forming" institutions may be of little or no value.³¹ There appears to be a correlation between associates and cheating.³²

Since the informal primary play groups are so important in forming the character and personality of children, we should know more about the nature of the child's leisure-time activities in the city. How do children spend their time in the city? Most of them attend school, of course, but this takes only five or six hours, which leaves the time after school, evenings, and two whole days, Saturday and Sunday, for other things. What do they do? The rural child had chores and other work to do on the farm. The city home, with water, heat, light, and other modern conveniences,

²⁸Park and Burgess, op. cit., p. 151.

²⁹Cf. Cooley, Social Organization, pp. 24-25.

³⁰Hartshorne and May, Studies in Deceit, p. 413.

³¹Hartshorne and May say: "Apart from the actual practice of direct or honest methods of gaining ends where a conflict of wills is actually involved, the mere urging of honest behavior by teachers or the discussion of standards and ideals of honesty, no matter how such general ideas may be 'emotionalized,' has no necessary relation to the control of conduct. The extent to which individuals may be affected, either for better or for worse, is not known, but there seems to be evidence that such effects as may result are not generally good and are sometimes unwholesome" (ibid., pp. 411 and 413).

³²Ibid., pp. 410-11.

is lacking in simple tasks for children.³³ It should be important then to know how the city child spends his leisure time. We shall answer this question in respect to an apartment house area in Chicago, Hyde Park. The activities of children in this area will be compared, then, with the activities of children in a small rural town.

In 1925, children in grades five to eight in the Kozminski Public School were asked to write about what they did on Saturday and Sunday, during a regular class exercise. The instructions which were given to the teachers and the children were as follows:

"What I did Saturday and Sunday"

This subject can best be given as a paper in English. Children should have from one-half hour to one hour to write. It should be given Monday when the events of Saturday and Sunday are fresh in the memories of the children. The teacher should introduce the subject by reading, or writing on the board, the following direction:

Tell everything that you did from the time you got up Saturday morning until you went to bed Sunday night. Be careful to put down just what you did. If you read, give the name of the book or magazine. If you played, tell whether indoors or out, and the name of the games. Be careful to write down your age, and whether you are a boy or a girl.

These instructions were presented to the Kozminski school children on Monday, June 8, 1925.³⁴ Papers were obtained from 360 children. On Monday, February 13, 1928, the same instructions were given to children in grades five to eight in Norton, Kansas.³⁵ From Norton, 168 papers were received.

The 528 papers from the Kozminski and Norton schools were carefully analyzed and each activity noted separately for boys and for girls. These activities were re-combined into a list of activities for each school. Then percentages of the number of boys and number of girls were calculated for each activity.

³³Cf. Josephine C. Foster, Busy Childhood (New York: D. Appleton—Century Co., Inc., 1933), pp. 165-67.

³⁴Thanks are due to Mr. E. B. Smith, Principal, and his teachers for their very kind co-operation.

³⁵Thanks are due to Mrs. Ella Jacques, Principal. Norton is a town of 2,186 population in a distinctly rural district, the nearest city of any considerable size being Denver, Colorado, 250 miles away. The comparison should bring out the contrasts and similarities in children's activities between a rural and an urban community.

Table XIV shows the list of activities from the Kozminski school children with the percentage of boys and girls participating in each activity on the two days studied.³⁶

Boys (Saturday).-- The most important activity among the boys in the Kozminski school was "playing games." Nearly 46 per cent of the 179 boys played games of some kind on Saturday. Baseball stands first in a list of the games which were mentioned. Over half of the boys mentioning games played baseball. Other games played were: horseshoe, handball, tag, pool, cards, checkers, tennis, croquet, hide-and-seek, red-light, marbles, golf, and jacks. Games are significant in that the children are brought into interaction with other children.

Next to games stands "housework" as an activity for boys. Two-fifths (41.3 per cent) of the boys had some work to do about the house. This work was most often errands for the mother, or, perhaps, helping to clean house, or, in a number of cases, washing dishes.

Playing in the yard, street, or alley near home or in the house was mentioned by about one-third of the boys. There were considerable meetings of neighbor boys in the back yard of one's home or the other. There was considerable playing in the yard in bathing suits and with the hose.

Because the weather was hot, "swimming" and attendance at the beach were popular. One-third of all the boys were at the beach during the day.

About 28 per cent of the boys attended shows on Saturday. The shows were usually moving pictures but stage plays were also mentioned. The movie houses mentioned most often were the Frolic and Harper on Fifty-fifth Street and the Tivoli on Cottage Grove near Sixty-third.³⁷

³⁶A few of the activities call for a few words of explanation. "Housework" includes house cleaning, washing dishes, or running errands for the mother. It does not include preparing meals. None of the children from Hyde Park prepared meals. "Playing Games" and "Playing (near home)" overlap to some extent, in that, some of the games were played near home. In this case the activity is included under both items. "Playing (near home)" was included because of the interest in this study in the influence of primary groups in the immediate neighborhood. "Riding," in nearly every case, referred to the automobile. "Music" includes taking music lessons, practicing, or playing some instrument for pleasure (radio being included separately). "Down town" meant going to the "Loop" for pleasure, shopping, errands, etc.

³⁷The Tivoli Theater is in a "bright light" area outside Hyde Park Community.

TABLE XIV

BOYS AND GIRLS FROM GRADES FIVE TO EIGHT IN THE KOZMINSKI
PUBLIC SCHOOL BY PERCENTAGES PARTICIPATING IN VARIOUS
ACTIVITIES ON SATURDAY AND SUNDAY

Activities	Boys (179)		Girls (181)	
	Sat.	Sun.	Sat.	Sun.
1. Housework	41.3	21.2	66.2	38.6
2. Worked (earning)	24.0	8.9	5.5	1.6
3. Reading news	13.4	34.6	8.2	32.6
4. Reading magazine	6.1	3.9	11.2	7.1
5. Reading books	24.5	25.1	30.9	27.0
6. Playing games	45.8	31.8	29.8	21.5
7. Playing (near home)	31.2	22.3	41.9	27.0
8. Swimming	31.2	13.9	27.6	19.8
9. At park	15.0	17.8	16.5	20.4
10. Show	27.9	35.1	26.5	30.9
11. Club or party	1.1	2.2	3.3	4.4
12. Picnic	6.7	7.2	3.3	6.6
13. Riding	17.8	28.4	19.8	18.7
14. Walking	2.2	7.8	9.3	16.0
15. Visiting	11.1	27.9	27.6	38.6
16. Church	2.2	16.2	2.2	23.7
17. Sunday School	0.0	17.8	0.0	20.9
18. Music	8.9	5.5	23.7	15.4
19. Sewing	0.0	0.0	5.5	1.1
20. Dolls	0.0	0.0	4.9	2.2
21. Radio	7.2	8.9	3.3	3.8
22. Tinkering-hobby	8.3	5.5	0.0	0.0
23. At Y.M.C.A.	8.3	1.1	0.0	0.0
24. Scouts	7.8	3.9	1.6	0.0
25. Shopping	7.2	0.0	23.2	0.0
26. Track meet	11.7	1.6	0.0	0.0
27. Down town	7.2	2.7	3.3	0.0
28. Miscellaneous	11.1	6.7	5.5	2.7

About one-fourth of the boys read books. Many books of adventure, wild-west, and detective types appeared among those read by them. Much of their reading was devoted, however, to school books. Books of a mechanic and scientific nature were mentioned by a few.

Twenty-four per cent of the boys worked away from home earning money. Such occupations as delivering groceries, working in drug stores, carrying papers, etc., appeared.

Boys (Sunday).- The most important occupation on Sunday among the boys was going to a show, but reading the newspaper and playing games came close behind. Thirty-five per cent attended shows, 34 per cent read the Sunday newspaper, and 33 per cent played games. The interest in the newspaper was centered chiefly in the comics. One of the teachers in the school who was interviewed said that one of the chief topics of discussion among the children during intermissions on Mondays was the doings of "Chester Gump," "Moon Mullins," and other comic characters. The games played did not differ essentially from Saturday's games.

The other activities in the order of their importance were "riding" in or driving a car, "visiting," "reading books," "playing near home," and "housework." Short and long drives, with several of the family, were quite common on Sunday. The trip sometimes ended with a visit to friends or relatives. The boys often went alone to visit their friends. The younger boys played near home more often than the older boys. Only 16 per cent of the boys attended church and 17 per cent went to Sunday School.

Girls (Saturday).- The most important occupation of the girls was "housework." Two-thirds of them had some duties to perform on Saturday. These duties consisted of washing dishes, sweeping and cleaning, running errands, etc. Some of the girls cared for their own rooms; others not only did this but helped their mothers clean the whole house, helped prepare meals (but did not prepare a whole meal unaided by their mothers), and did many other things about the house. "Housework," for the girls, consisted of a much wider range of activity than it did for the boys.

"Playing near home" was of considerable importance among the girls, 41 per cent of them having mentioned this in their papers, but this was more true among the younger girls. Many of the girls put on their bathing suits and played with the hose; others played ball or had lawn parties.

Thirty-one per cent of the girls read books. Typical girls' stories predominated but some of the girls read boys' stories. There were some stories of mystery and adventure. More solid reading appeared in school assignments and one girl read Shakespeare.

Nearly 30 per cent of the girls played games of various kinds. As among the boys, baseball or playing catch predominated. Jacks comes second, while this was mentioned by very few boys. The other games played, in the order of their importance, were: tennis, tag, golf, checkers, and button. The following games were

mentioned once by various girls: Mah Jong, New York, O'Leary, horseshoe, chess, and croquet.

"Swimming," "visiting," and going to a "show" stood practically the same in importance among the girls. About 27 per cent of all girls took part in these activities.

Girls (Sunday).- The table shows that "housework" and "visiting" stand first in Sunday's activities. About 38 per cent mention these two activities. Housework is the same as on Saturday except that there is less among the group of girls and individual girls seem to have less amounts to do on Sunday. In visiting, the girls either went with the family, or to visit their girl friends alone, or had the friends visiting them. Shows, books, and playing at home are next in importance, with from 27 to 30 per cent of the girls participating in each. The church and Sunday School stand sixth and eighth, respectively, as Sunday activities for girls. "Playing games," which stands seventh, was practically the same as on Saturday. Baseball is first, jacks and tennis next, with cards, golf, button, run-sheep-run, following.

By referring to Table XIV, it can be seen that "housework" is more important for girls than for boys. Sixty-six per cent of the girls performed some duties about the house on Saturday, whereas we find only 41 per cent of the boys doing so. Although there is a marked decrease in the number of girls doing housework on Sunday, there is a like decrease among the boys.

Table XIV shows that 24 per cent of the boys worked away from home, earning money usually,³⁸ while only 5.5 per cent of the girls did so. On Sunday about 9 per cent of the boys worked and 1.5 per cent of the girls.

One would expect Sunday to be a more important day for reading the newspaper than Saturday. This is true for both boys and girls. Thirteen per cent of the boys read the paper on Saturday and 8 per cent of the girls. The percentages were 34 and 32, respectively, on Sunday. The most prominent part of the newspaper was the comic section for both boys and girls.

Time spent in reading magazines was evidently of little importance to the boys. Only 6 per cent of them on Saturday and 4 per cent on Sunday mentioned reading of this kind. The percentage of girls stood slightly higher, or 11 per cent for Saturday and 7 per cent for Sunday. A list of magazines mentioned by all the boys and girls who read them is as follows:

- | | |
|---------------|-----------------|
| 1. True Story | 3. Cosmopolitan |
| 2. American | 4. Liberty |

³⁸Some of the boys worked in their fathers' stores.

- | | |
|----------------------------|-----------------------|
| 5. Red Book | 15. Child Life |
| 6. Saturday Evening Post | 16. Youth's Companion |
| 7. Science and Invention | 17. Boy's Life |
| 8. True Detective Tales | 18. Everybody's |
| 9. College Humor | 19. Motion Picture |
| 10. Ladies' Home Journal | 20. Metropolitan |
| 11. Popular Magazine | 21. Fashion |
| 12. Literary Digest | 22. Photo Play |
| 13. Geographic | 23. Out Door Life |
| 14. Woman's Home Companion | 24. Collier's |

More girls read books than boys. Twenty-five to 30 per cent of the boys and girls read books on both Saturday and Sunday. The type of books read has been mentioned above.

Playing games stands higher for boys than for girls and higher on Saturday than Sunday. More girls played games or entered into other forms of play near home more often than the boys. The boys evidently go farther from home for play than girls. This is quite a generally accepted belief. There was less play activity near home, however, for both boys and girls on Sunday, for driving, going to the park, picnics, and shows predominated.

Swimming is an activity that would vary according to the weather. Many of the stories mention the coldness of the water on Sunday. This may account for less attendance at the beach on this day, although the number of girls who went swimming on Sunday was not much less than on Saturday (27.6 per cent on Saturday and 19.8 per cent on Sunday). The number of boys dropped from 30 per cent on Saturday to 14 per cent on Sunday.

Going to the park for play, for boating, for picnics, etc., stands higher on Sunday and slightly more important for girls than boys. The parks most often visited were Jackson and Washington Parks.³⁹ Going to the show, which is one of the important activities or pastimes for both boys and girls, stands higher on Sunday than Saturday and slightly more important for boys than for girls on both days. A considerable number of the papers mentioned going to the show both days. More boys had picnics than girls and more picnics came on Sunday than on Saturday. Driving or riding in an automobile for pleasure is a significant pastime for both boys and girls on both days. More boys went driving on Sunday than on Saturday but in the case of the girls the order is reversed. Walking about the streets, or in the park, or down by the lake is considerably higher for girls than for boys and higher on Sunday.

There is more than twice as much visiting on Sunday among the boys as on Saturday, while the ratio stands about one-third

³⁹These parks border Hyde Park on the east and the west.

more for the girls. Visiting was more important for the girls on both days than for the boys. Visiting consisted of the boy or girl going with the family to visit friends or relatives, or going to visit their own friends and relatives without the family. Visiting alone seemed more prevalent than visiting with the family.

Church attendance is predominantly a Sunday activity, although Jewish religious services are held on Saturday and a few boys and girls mentioned attendance at the Temple or Synagogue on Saturday. In the list of activities obtained from this study, church attendance stands eleventh among the boys and seventh among the girls. That is, ten activities had a higher percentage of participation by the boys than the church and six had a higher percentage of participation by the girls. Four-fifths of the boys and girls did not mention church nor Sunday School. However, I believe some of the Sunday Schools were having vacations at this time.

None of the boys mentioned sewing or playing with dolls. These activities are of little significance among the girls. Dolls are not mentioned by any girls over twelve years of age.

Shopping is three times more important for the girls than for the boys. A track meet was held on Saturday at the Kozminski school, which was attended by about 12 per cent of the boys.

The miscellaneous activities are few in number, so may be listed here:

Boys

1. Interest in girls.
2. Garden and flowers.
3. Amusement Parks.
4. Races (auto).
5. Camping.
6. Art Institute.

Girls

1. Interest in boys.
2. Road-house.
3. Block-printing.
4. Amusement Parks.
5. Dancing School.
6. Field Museum.
7. Solo Dancing.

There was a group of three or four boys who met some girl acquaintances on the street, and took them to a show, at least they sat with the girls in the show and later walked home with them. These boys were eighth grade boys and a like interest does not appear in any of the papers with the exception of one girl who showed an interest in a boy. Five or six boys and three girls (not together) went to White City or Riverview amusement parks. Two boys attended the auto races at Robey Speedway. The other interests mentioned above were entered into by one person.

By selecting certain representative papers from the total number of those from the Kozminski school and examining these, additional facts may be given which are not revealed in Table XIV. For example, the contrast between some of the boys and girls with

much leisure is striking when placed alongside the statements of those who worked. Some seemed free to do as their whims dictated; others were at the beck and call of their mothers or relatives. It is interesting to note how little the father enters into the situation either with boys or girls. The father is at home with the family on Sunday most often but it is of interest to note how few times the children ask his permission to do something or are asked by him to do errands. The father's work is usually away from home much of the time and the mother cares for and disciplines the children.

Some children expressed an active interest in games or sports while others merely look on, or were seeking entertainment of a passive nature. The opportunity to attend movies at almost any hour in the city may be productive of this passive interest. The opportunity to "see stories" on the screen may also make for less reading. There was not as much reading mentioned as one would expect with its modern availability. It may be that the child's attention to books during the week drives him away from them during the week-end.

Table XV shows the percentage of all boys and girls in grades five to eight in the Norton school participating in various activities on Saturday and Sunday, February 12 and 13, 1928. The first nineteen items in the Norton table are similar to nineteen in the Kozminski table. About two-thirds of the activities were similar in the two schools, with the exception that they have a different ranking. Of the eight items in the Kozminski table and the nine items in the Norton table which remain, two or possibly three activities in each table are seasonal. The others show a difference in occupations, duties, or interests in the two communities.

"Home work" refers to work about the home, such as getting fuel, caring for domestic animals, etc. It does not refer to house cleaning, cooking, or general routine work about the house. These are included separately. "Home work," which does not appear in the Kozminski list of activities, is of considerable importance in Norton. The same is true of "Cooking." In Norton many of the girls prepared all or some of the meals during the day. "Home work" for the boys took the place of "housework," whereas in Hyde Park the boys did more housework. Boys and girls both appear to have more duties to perform in Norton than in Hyde Park. This is especially true with the boys.

The tradition has been that girls are supposed to do housework and boys are not. In the rural districts the boy always had plenty to do about the farm, doing chores, getting wood and water, etc. He very seldom washed dishes or helped clean the house.

TABLE XV

BOYS AND GIRLS FROM GRADES FIVE TO EIGHT IN THE NORTON
PUBLIC SCHOOL BY PERCENTAGES PARTICIPATING IN
VARIOUS ACTIVITIES ON SATURDAY AND SUNDAY

Activities	Boys (84)		Girls (84)	
	Sat.	Sun.	Sat.	Sun.
1. Housework	13.0	4.7	77.3	40.4
2. Worked (earning)	32.1	10.7	9.5	1.1
3. Reading news	4.7	20.2	8.3	32.1
4. Reading magazine	10.7	7.1	7.1	2.3
5. Reading books	30.9	27.3	29.7	34.5
6. Playing games	77.3	73.8	29.7	33.3
7. Playing (near home)	14.2	10.7	19.0	17.8
8. Show	50.0	0.0	35.7	0.0
9. Picnic	1.1	1.1	7.1	0.0
10. Riding (auto)	11.9	19.0	3.5	13.0
11. Walking	2.3	2.3	11.9	7.1
12. Visiting	16.6	19.0	38.0	66.6
13. Church	2.3	16.6	1.1	47.6
14. Sunday School	0.0	46.4	0.0	70.2
15. Music	10.7	5.9	17.8	16.6
16. Sewing	0.0	0.0	5.9	0.0
17. Radio	1.1	0.0	7.1	5.9
18. Shopping	1.1	0.0	14.2	0.0
19. Down town	29.7	13.0	36.9	4.7
20. Home work	63.0	22.2	20.2	4.7
21. Cooking	0.0	0.0	41.6	29.7
22. Roller skating	10.7	8.3	11.9	9.5
23. Hiking	4.7	3.5	4.7	3.5
24. Valentines	2.3	1.1	17.8	7.1
25. Cards	5.9	1.1	5.9	4.7
26. Pop corn and candy	3.5	4.7	7.1	20.2
27. Church society	0.0	4.7	0.0	14.2
28. Riding (horse)	1.1	2.3	1.1	2.3
29. Miscellaneous	0.0	3.5	1.1	0.0

This was girl's work. Norton appears to follow tradition in this respect. In the city most of the boy's work of this kind has disappeared. There are no chores to do, no wood nor water to get, nor stock to care for. The girl's work has changed, too, due to

modern conveniences and living in hotels and apartments where there is a cafe or restaurant attached. But the larger number of families still live in apartments or rooms where they prepare their own meals and care for their rooms. In the latter case the work for the girl to do about the house is more nearly like it was under rural conditions, while the boy's work has changed. A girl in the city, therefore, gets more training of this kind under family care and control than does a boy, but still she has less to do than the rural girl. The boy may work as much or more than the girl but the work is away from home and under the control of others.

Social evenings at home after attendance at church societies on Sunday were mentioned quite frequently by the girls in Norton. They made candy and popped corn, usually, or played cards.

By taking, from Tables XIV and XV, the ten activities with the highest number of children participating as shown by the percentages and ranking them, we will be able to compare more easily the two communities represented.

Boys' Activities

Saturday

Rank	Kozminski	Rank	Norton
1.	Playing games	1.	Playing games
2.	Housework	2.	Home work
3.	Playing (near home)	3.	Show
4.	Swimming	4.	Worked (earning)
5.	Show	5.	Reading books
6.	Reading books	6.	Down town
7.	Worked (earning)	7.	Visiting
8.	Riding (auto)	8.	Playing (near home)
9.	At park	9.	Housework
10.	Reading news	10.	Riding (auto)

Boys' Activities

Sunday

Rank	Kozminski	Rank	Norton
1.	Show	1.	Playing games
2.	Reading news	2.	Sunday School
3.	Playing games	3.	Reading books
4.	Riding (auto)	4.	Home work
5.	Visiting	5.	Reading news
6.	Reading books	6.	Riding (auto)
7.	Playing (near home)	7.	Visiting
8.	Housework	8.	Church
9.	At park	9.	Down town
10.	Sunday School	10.	Worked (earning)

Girls' Activities

Saturday

Rank	Kozminski	Rank	Norton
1.	Housework	1.	Housework
2.	Playing (near home)	2.	Cooking
3.	Reading books	3.	Visiting
4.	Playing games	4.	Down town
5.	Swimming	5.	Show
6.	Visiting	6.	Reading books
7.	Show	7.	Playing games
8.	Music	8.	Home work
9.	Shopping	9.	Playing (near home)
10.	Riding (auto)	10.	Music

Girls' Activities

Sunday

Rank	Kozminski	Rank	Norton
1.	Housework	1.	Sunday School
2.	Visiting	2.	Visiting
3.	Reading news	3.	Church
4.	Show	4.	Housework
5.	Reading books	5.	Reading books
6.	Playing (near home)	6.	Playing games
7.	Church	7.	Reading news
8.	Playing games	8.	Cooking
9.	Sunday School	9.	Pop corn and candy
10.	At park	10.	Playing (near home)

The rankings of the activities given above are self-explanatory, but we may call attention to the fact that "playing games" ranks very high with boys in both communities and quite high among girls. Games in Norton did not differ essentially from games in Hyde Park, with the exception that marbles were "in season" in Norton. A larger percentage of children attended Sunday School and church in Norton. The movie was closed there on Sunday.

In this chapter we have shown that the change in our economic system from domestic economy to that of the factory has been accompanied by a change in recreational activities. This change has affected rural districts as well as the city, but is very much more pronounced in the city. The tendency in the city is to use the whole city as a playground, not just the local neighborhood. This is more true for adults and older children. The family, the local neighborhood and community are still largely the place for child recreation and that of the mothers. The children form many informal play groups in the local neighborhood near the home. These informal primary groups have important influences upon the

character and personality of the child. The analysis and comparison of the leisure time activities of children in an apartment house area in the city with those of children in a rural town show that more home duties are common in the small town. This might be expected in a community of single homes and less modern conveniences. Children in the city have less opportunity for training within the home under the control of parents. Girls have a better opportunity for this type of home training than do boys. The boy's time is taken up with work under the control of others or in leisure time pursuits. In both communities games take a prominent place.⁴⁰ Games promote primary group contacts among children of like ages. The child learns to adjust himself to others. Playing near home is more common in the city than in the rural district. This is what we would expect from our earlier discussion of the urban neighborhood as a very small area.⁴¹ Eight of the activities in the city list were most often connected with the home, one with the neighborhood, eight with the community, four with either the home, neighborhood, or community, and the remaining six with either the community or outside the community. This shows that most of the leisure time contacts of grade school children are still within the community.

Nearly half the activities presented for the city community involve association with others. Most of these contacts involve relatives or friends. Most of the friends are children of like ages. This situation makes for primary group contacts and control that is a very strong influence upon the character and personality of the children. In disintegrated communities these informal groups may develop into gangs and delinquency, but in a community like Hyde Park where the family and home life are relatively wholesome, gangs and delinquency are at a minimum and the personalities of the children are developed in a more wholesome manner.

In the day when the home was an economic unit as well as the place for religious training, recreation, etc., the influence of the parents upon the child's choice of an occupation was all

⁴⁰Cf. McKenzie, The Neighborhood, p. 601. Cf. Dorothy Reed, "Leisure Time of Girls in 'Little Italy,'" p. 44. Doctor's thesis, Columbia University, 1932. Cf. Ben M. Hanna, "Leisure-Time Activities of Normal and Bright Children in Grades Seven to Eleven," p. 123. Master's thesis, University of Chicago, 1928. Cf. Norma Schwendener, "Game Preferences of 10,000 Fourth Grade Children," pp. 33-36. Doctor's thesis, Columbia University, 1932.

⁴¹Cf. supra, Chap. III, p. 68.

powerful. Since he was actually trained under the direct control of his parents from earliest childhood in the tasks that lead up to his parents' trade or work, it could hardly be otherwise than that he should follow in the same kind of work or be greatly influenced by it. Today, under the influence of the factory system, with its intricate divisions of labor, much of which calls for specialized training entirely above and apart from the child's life, there is not the same influence of parents upon the child in his choice of an occupation. The part that parents and other forces contribute in this respect will be considered next.

CHAPTER VII

DECLINE OF PARENTAL INFLUENCE

The child in the large city, today, is exposed to many influences. In the days of domestic economy the family was dominant and parental control was all powerful since the child's contacts were largely home contacts. Today the child has contacts with the school, the church, recreational institutions, etc., and through modern means of communication, such as the newspapers, radio, and books, he gains much knowledge of the world in which he lives. When he is old enough to prowl around the neighborhood and community he sees much of the complex life taking place around him. In the cases where the father's occupation is located within the neighborhood, the child may become acquainted with the father's work. In the large city, however, where manufacturing areas, business areas, and residential areas are all segregated, often many miles apart, the opportunity of seeing the father at work is rare for the child.¹ Then, too, the dangers of certain types of work where machinery is involved are likely to prohibit child visiting. Many types of work are so highly specialized and so complex that the child would not understand them if he did see them.² Until he has been trained himself, he could obtain only the most superficial knowledge of occupations by observation. The complexity of modern life, with its intricate division of labor, calls for highly specialized training in most fields, which can be obtained only in specialized institutions.³

This all means that the child has contacts other than

¹Professor Zorbaugh says: "There are no longer common economic activities carried on by the community as such; men who live side by side no longer spend the hours of the day working at tasks that bring them together. Economic activities, which were in the village a source of much of the community's common body of experience, serve in the city community, more often than not to draw men apart, to give them separate interests and points of view" (The Gold Coast and the Slum, p. 236; cf. ibid., pp. 181, 237, 241).

²Cf. Park and Burgess, The City, pp. 2, 26.

³Cf. Thomas, The Unadjusted Girl, p. 71.

those in the family. Are these other contacts more influential in molding the habits, the attitudes, the personality, of the child than are those of the home? We shall attempt to answer this question with special reference to occupations. More specifically, we may ask: What is the influence of parents today upon the child's choice of a life occupation? Does the parental influence vary from rural areas to urban areas, or even from one urban area to another? Is parental influence today such that boys will choose the occupation of the father? These questions will be answered, first, by data from various cities and small towns and then for specific areas in Chicago.

In this study we are interested especially in the functions of the primary group in the urban environment. Therefore the question regarding the influence of parents upon the occupational choices of their children should indicate to us some of the aspects of the functions of a primary group. Does the primary group, as represented by the parents, still maintain its power to mold the attitudes and wishes of the children, especially those relating to vocations?⁴

Mrs. Bosanquet, who studied the English family at the beginning of this century, points out the "continuity of work" that existed there at the time of her writing. She asks the question: "Does this continuity of work really exist to any considerable extent in the modern family?" That is, does the son follow in the same line of work as that of the father? She says in answer to the question:

"I have no hesitation in affirming that it does in varying degrees, but among almost all classes. In trade and commerce and banking the great 'houses' with their long traditions, are too well known to need mentioning. In the professions there

⁴Professor Young says: "Secondary casual relationships are taking the place of the old primary ones. The population is tending to arrange itself along the lines of vocational classes and professional and business interests. Although we still have the facts of contiguity in our city districts, in fact in the modern apartment or tenement people are more closely brought together than is the case in the older villages or neighborhoods, in the matter of intimacy they are further apart than was possible in the primary group where the existence of the group depended on the co-operation of the neighbors for work in the fields and in the domestic manufactures and where the leisure interests were set by the primary group" ("A Sociological Study of a Disintegrated Neighborhood," p. 93. Cf. Zorbaugh, The Gold Coast and the Slum, p. 242).

would seem to be less definite continuity as between the various branches, though it may be regarded almost as a matter of course that the sons of professional men will themselves enter into one or another of the professions.⁵ But it is perhaps when we come to the industrial classes, the people to whom their calling is their one great possession that the tendency to continuity is most marked. It is especially striking when the supply of labour is highly organized, and something like the conditions of a monopoly have been established. Here we find all the characteristics of an aristocracy repeating themselves: the same exclusiveness and family pride, and the same uninterrupted succession of generation to generation. It is in the old days of the 'crafts' that we find this continuity of labour best illustrated, just as it is in the old days that we find the most extreme form of the feudal family based upon property."⁶

Before comparing the situation mentioned by Mrs. Bosanquet with that in America today we should note several conditions of her data. In the first place, she was writing nearly thirty years ago and many of her examples go back still further to the Nineteenth Century. It may be that conditions in England have changed since that time. In the second place, occupational classes are much more rigid in Europe and England than in America.⁷ It is much more the tendency there to stay within one's own class. Therefore sons are more likely to aspire to occupations within the economic class of their birth. In America with its traditions of open classes, the child may aspire to any occupation. Finally, Mrs. Bosanquet admits that the "continuity of labour" was best "illustrated" in the old days of the "crafts."

What do we find in America in regard to "continuity of work" in the same family? We shall consider first the data from

⁵Helen Bosanquet, The Family (New York: Macmillan Co., 1906), p. 207.

⁶Ibid., p. 209. Mrs. Bosanquet goes on to cite many cases to prove her point (ibid., pp. 212-15).

⁷In a recent news item we find the following statement regarding Italian glass blowers at the "Century of Progress": "Giovanni Sanagalia whose ancestors entered the profession in the fourteenth century mixes the ingredients. . . . Some of the tools used by the glass blowers are more than 500 years old, handed down from father to son, uncle to nephew. . . . Many other families have been blowing glass in Venice and Murano since the twelfth century" (Chicago Daily News, October 20, 1934).

rural areas and small towns. Mr. Anderson, who made a study of the influences in the vocational choice of 673 men in the North Carolina State College, found that only 12 per cent chose the vocations of their fathers. The transmission occurs most frequently in the field of agriculture, where sons are preparing to take over the farms of their fathers or enter some aspect of agricultural work. Mr. Anderson goes on to say:

"In contrast with the transmission of occupations from father to college going son is the transmission of occupation from the grandfather to the father of the student. Here one finds among 586 cases where the occupations of both are stated, a transmission of 45 per cent, almost four times as great as that from father to son."⁸

Little relationship existed between vocational choice and the chief occupation of the area, nor did the leading citizen have any great influence, according to Mr. Anderson.⁹

In a study of the influences in vocational choice of junior and senior high school students in a small town in Minnesota, Mr. Endicott found that around 20 per cent of the students were influenced by the parents' occupation.¹⁰ He says:

⁸W. A. Anderson, "Some Social Factors Associated with the Vocational Choices of College Men," Journal of Educational Sociology, VI (October, 1932), 103. The decrease in the number of sons following the father's occupation in the present generation as compared with the past may indicate that a great change in parental influence has come in the last generation in rural areas.

⁹Ibid., pp. 109-10.

¹⁰The question may arise as to the validity of the vocational choices of children in grade or high school. Do the children retain the choices they make over any length of time? Mr. Moore, in a study in Chicago, found that a majority of grammar school children retained their original choice over a period of about four months. Mr. Hoyt made a check in a small Illinois town over a period of nine years. At the end of this time he found that the students, now men and women, were following their original selections to the extent of 28 per cent of the group (H. L. D. Moore, "A Study of the Vocational Choices and Motives of a Selected Group of Grammar School Children," p. 37. Master's thesis, University of Chicago, 1923. Guy M. Hoyt, "Vocational Choices of High School Students," p. 11. Master's thesis, University of Chicago, 1921). Other studies show even more permanence. Cf. E. E. Franklin, "The Permanence of the Vocational Interests of Junior High School Pupils," Vocational Guidance Magazine, V (January, 1927), 155.

"Girls are more frequently influenced by parents than are boys. Parental influence is considerably more important for students in the junior high school than for those in the senior high school. A very important factor in the vocational choices of boys seems to be the influence of successful persons actually engaged in that type of work."¹¹

Professor Sears made a study of the vocational choices of 1,039 seventh and eighth grade boys in the Oakland Public Schools. He found that in two-thirds of the sixty occupations followed by the fathers not one son chose his father's calling. In the other twenty, the boys follow the lead of their fathers only to a limited extent. A very large percentage of the boys wished to follow a profession. In all, 7.3 per cent of the boys indicated a desire to follow the occupations of their fathers.¹²

Dr. Sparling, in a study of the vocational choices of college students in Brooklyn, found that the students were not following the occupations of their fathers but were being influenced in their choices by the parents. The parents were largely foreign born Jews and were insisting that their sons select one of the professions. Less than 3 per cent of the fathers are engaged in the professions.¹³

Mr. Moore, in a Chicago study of grammar school children in a Russian Jewish section, found that only six students, out of 386, chose the same work as that of their fathers. The types of work followed by the fathers was more specialized and did not run to professional and skilled types as in the case of the children.¹⁴

A study of 245,000 employed boys sixteen, seventeen, and eighteen years of age in New York State, including urban and rural population, shows that the number of boys following the occupations of their fathers is only "slightly greater than those following other occupations."¹⁵

¹¹Frank S. Endicott, "Factors Influencing High School Students in the Choice of a Vocation," Vocational Guidance Magazine, X (December, 1931), 100.

¹²J. B. Sears, "Occupations of Fathers and Occupational Choices of 1,039 Boys in Grades Seven and Eight of Oakland Schools," School and Society, I (May 22, 1915), 755-56.

¹³Edward J. Sparling, "Do College Students Choose Vocations Wisely?" pp. 25, 34. Doctor's thesis, Columbia University, 1933.

¹⁴Moore, op. cit., pp. 30-31.

¹⁵Howard G. Burdge, Our Boys (Albany: J. B. Lyon Co., 1921), pp. 219-327.

Other studies reveal about the same trend in regard to children choosing the same vocation as that of their parents.¹⁶

It is clear from the foregoing data that the situation in America in regard to the "continuity of work" from father to son is vastly different from that described by Mrs. Bosanquet from England. Whether this is due to a difference between the two countries or whether it reflects a recent change in America is not known. The data for America show that there is a slightly greater tendency in rural areas for sons to follow the occupation of the parents than is the case in cities. This is perhaps what should be expected, for, in rural areas and small towns, a larger number of the parents own their business establishments or farms. The tendency would be, therefore, for the children to take over the fathers' occupations. Then, too, the child is likely to have closer contact with the work on the farm during the developing years than is the case with the city child and his father's work. However, even in rural districts there seems to be a tendency to follow what might be called the American tradition, that is, the tradition for the child to aspire to so-called "better" things. This tradition may come from the American's naïve faith in education, for a rural parent will say to his child, "I want you to get an education so as you won't have to work like I do." Therefore, we find many rural children aspiring to the professions or occupations with social status.¹⁷ One of these is teaching. The following quotation shows the percentage entering teaching from other occupations in small towns in New England:

"Teachers are recruited largely from those families where the fathers are engaged in the following occupations and in the order and percentages named: agriculture, 47.5; professional, 7.5; managerial service, 7.5; and proprietors, 6.4. The other parental occupations contribute between zero and five per cent to the teaching profession."¹⁸

¹⁶Cf. Clara Menger, The Significance of Vocational Choices (New York: privately printed, 1932), pp. 28, 46, 62. Cf. R. O. Beckman, "To What Extent are Vocations Inherited?" Vocational Guidance Magazine, VIII (October, 1929), 9-11. Cf. Franklin, op. cit., pp. 152-59.

¹⁷Cf. Harvey C. Lehman and Paul A. Witty, "Further Study of the Social Status of Occupations," Journal of Educational Sociology, V (October, 1931), 101-12.

¹⁸A. D. Mueller, "A Vocational and Socio-Educational Survey of Graduates and Non-Graduates of Small High Schools of New England," Genetic Psychology Monographs, Vol. VI, No. 4 (Worcester, Massachusetts: Clark University Press, 1929), p. 347.

Simply because the child does not choose to follow the parents' occupation does not mean that parental influence does not exist. It may be that the parents have, toward their own occupations, what Bogardus calls the "negative occupational attitude," that is, an attitude against their own type of work.¹⁹ This attitude may be passed on to the children.

We turn now to an examination of the data for the Hyde Park community in Chicago in respect to occupational choices of children. We shall also present data from another community in Chicago to show the contrasts between two types of urban community.

People in different occupations are not evenly distributed over the city. Some communities predominate in professional services, others in clerical occupations, while others have a larger proportion of people devoting themselves to manufacturing, etc. In Tables VI and VII, Chapter II, we presented the data from several communities in Chicago showing the distribution of people in various occupational groups according to the 1930 census. Hyde Park had a high proportion of professional people for both men and women, while the proportion in manufacturing occupations was low. New City, another community considered, had a low proportion of professional people and a high ratio of those in manufacturing. Do these two types of community reflect their particular occupational organizations upon the occupational choices of the children within these areas?

In 1928, seventh and eighth grade children in the Kozminski school (Hyde Park) and the Seward school (New City) were asked to name the occupation they would like to follow for their life's work. These occupations have been classified and are presented in Tables XVI and XVII.

We see from Table XVI that engineering is the only occupation which is chosen by a large number of boys from both Hyde Park and New City. Engineering in Hyde Park meant either civil, electrical, or chemical, while in New City it meant mechanical or locomotive in six cases and civil or electrical in the other eight. The choice of mechanical engineering may show a relation to the predominant occupation in New City, that of manufacturing.

Taking the occupations, "doctor," "lawyer," and "teacher" as professions, we find that in Hyde Park this group makes up, about 32 per cent of the total number of choices. The 1930 census shows that 16.4 per cent of the adult males in Hyde Park are

¹⁹E. S. Bogardus, "Personality and Occupational Attitudes," Sociology and Social Research, XII (September—October, 1927), 73-79.

TABLE XVI

NUMBER OF SEVENTH AND EIGHTH GRADE BOYS IN THE KOZMINSKI AND
THE SEWARD PUBLIC SCHOOLS SELECTING CERTAIN OCCUPATIONS

Occupation	Number of Boys	
	Kozminski	Seward
1. Engineer	21	14
2. Architect	9	2
3. Doctor	17	3
4. Lawyer	11	3
5. Teacher	5	0
6. Business	10	0
7. Aviator	8	3
8. Auto Mechanic	1	17
9. Office Work	2	11
10. Electrician	0	6
11. Musician	2	5
12. Printer	1	3
13. Clerk	0	3
14. Artist	1	2
15. Carpenter	0	2
16. Professional Baseball	1	2
17. Stock Yards	0	2
18. Army Officer	2	0
19. Laundry Manager	2	0
20. Farmer	1	2
21. Prize Fighter	0	2
22. Chemist	0	2
23. Furniture Factory	1	0
24. Rabbi	1	0
25. Jockey	1	0
26. Live Stock Broker	1	0
27. Druggist	1	0
28. Wrecking Company	1	0
29. Contractor	1	0
30. Railway Mail Clerk	0	1
31. Aeroplane Mechanic	0	1
32. Selling Papers	0	1
33. Pullman Conductor	0	1
34. Dentist	0	1
35. Bookbinder	0	1
36. Salesman	0	1

TABLE XVI (Continued)

Occupation	Number of Boys	
	Kozminski	Seward
37. Painter	0	1
38. Street Car Motorman	0	1
39. Detective	0	1
40. Cowboy	0	1
41. Electric Shop	0	1
42. Fireman (City)	0	1
43. Miner	0	1
44. Cartoonist	0	1
45. Policeman	0	1
46. Photographer	0	1
Total	101	101

classified as professional.²⁰ This same group in New City makes up about 6 per cent of the total choices, whereas the census shows that only 1.9 per cent of the adult males in the United States are in the professions. The 6 per cent, in New City, is higher in proportion to the actual community standard than is the 32 per cent in Hyde Park. There are direct relations, however, between the choices and the respective communities.

The choices of "auto mechanic" and "office work" are high in New City and low in Hyde Park. The choice of "office work" in New City may be explained by summarizing the boy's motive for his choice. The chief motive may be given as "clean job," "easy work," and "good pay." There seemed to be a definite tendency to get away from the dirty work of the stock-yards. "Auto mechanic" even though not so clean was far above the stock-yard work. Other detailed differences may be seen by referring to the table.²¹

Table XVII shows that the range of choices among girls is

²⁰See supra, Table VI, p. 31.

²¹Tables of boys' vocational choices in other studies agree, on the whole, with those in Hyde Park. However, the choices in New City appear to be far below those of other studies, that is, when we consider the higher occupations as those requiring the larger amount of preparation (Cf. Moore, op. cit., pp. 25-26. Cf. Menger, op. cit., p. 46).

much more narrow than for boys.²² Two occupations, "stenographer," and "teacher" make up over 60 per cent of the total choices for the girls. Twenty per cent of the girls in the Kozminski school chose "stenography" while we find about 51 per cent among the Seward girls so choosing. When we come to teaching the order is reversed. Forty-two per cent in Kozminski school chose teaching as compared with 17 per cent in Seward. If we may consider teaching a higher occupation than stenography because of the additional training required, then the aspirations are higher among the girls in Hyde Park. In fact, other occupations, as "artist," "lawyer," and "nurse," chosen in considerable numbers in Hyde Park, require much more training than any of the more prominent choices in New City.

It is quite clear from both tables that the aspirations of the boys and girls in Hyde Park are much higher than for those in New City and there seems to be a definite relationship between occupation levels of the two communities.

The children were asked also to name some occupations they would not care to follow. In New City the tendency was clearly one of escape from the stock-yard work. So "office work" or "stenography" was a distinct step upward for them. The higher occupations did not come within their world. In Hyde Park, labor or factory work did not enter in even in the negative choices of the children. Their negative choices occurred among the same groups of occupations as their positive choices. This shows different attitudes toward groups of occupations in the two communities. It shows a relation in occupational choices to the occupational levels of the two communities.

To what extent are children in Hyde Park and New City influenced in the choice of an occupation by their parents?²³ Thirteen per cent of the boys in the Kozminski school chose their

²²In all the studies compared with this one, the range of choice of occupations of girls is always more narrow than that for boys. This should be expected when we consider that our cultural heritage limits women to a small number of occupations. The tendency during the depression is to revive the old idea that "woman's place is in the home."

²³The fact that a large percentage of employed parents in Hyde Park have their places of employment outside the community may have some relation to the decrease in parental influence upon the children's choice of a life's work. Of 172 places of employment of Hyde Park fathers, 84.3 per cent were located outside the community. In the case of New City, only 13.4 per cent worked outside the community (Cf. supra, Chap. II, p. 33).

TABLE XVII

NUMBER OF SEVENTH AND EIGHTH GRADE GIRLS IN THE KOZMINSKI
AND SEWARD PUBLIC SCHOOLS SELECTING CERTAIN OCCUPATIONS

Occupation	Number of Girls	
	Kozminski	Seward
1. Stenographer	26	52
2. Teacher	54	17
3. Artist	12	1
4. Lawyer	8	0
5. Dressmaker	1	8
6. Nurse	7	2
7. Actress	5	4
8. Hairdresser	0	5
9. Charity Worker	3	0
10. Factory	0	3
11. Pharmacist	2	1
12. Interior Decorator	2	0
13. Doctor	2	0
14. Clerk	0	2
15. Housewife	1	1
16. Photographer	1	0
17. Department Store Buyer	1	0
18. Dress Designer	1	0
19. Saleswoman	1	0
20. Fancy Diver	1	0
21. Opera Singer	1	0
22. Fortune Teller	0	1
23. Traveler	0	1
24. Catholic Sister	0	1
25. Author	0	1
26. Aviatrrix	0	1
Total	129	101

life's occupation because of the father's, the mother's, or a brother's influence. In 9 per cent of these, the boy intended to follow his father's occupation. In the Seward school, 10 per cent of the boys chose their occupation because of their parent's or relative's employments or because of a wish on the part of the relatives or parents. The parental influence upon the choice of

occupations of the girls stands lower than for boys in both communities.²⁴ Six per cent of the girls in the Kozminski school and 5 per cent in the Seward school were influenced by their parents in their choice of an occupation. The predominant employment in New City is stock-yard or factory labor, yet only two children chose this type of work as a result of the parental influence. Where the children in New City were influenced by the home environment, the parents were occupied in a higher type of work, such as photography, pharmacy, medicine, painting, law, carpentry, book-keeping, etc. Many of the children at the Seward school stated definitely that they did not wish to follow their parent's occupation. They wished to enter work that required an education. Not selecting, or turning from, the parent's occupation may be due to a direct parental influence. In many cases the parents urged their children to "get an education" so that they would not have to work in the parents' occupations.

There appears to be considerable relationship between the economic status or occupational level of the two communities, Hyde Park and New City, when they are compared in respect to the occupational choices of grade school children in the two areas. The children from one school in each area show a difference of attitude toward occupations. The level to which children aspire is much lower in New City. The children aspire, however, to a higher level in their respective communities than that community now has as revealed by the census percentages on occupations. Parental influence upon children in choosing their life's occupation is about the same as in other studies presented, which is quite low. Other influences are apparently at work; what these influences are we are unable to say except in a general way.

Apparently the child is influenced by many forces in the modern world. Among these are the forces urging him to choose certain occupations. Formerly he chose his life's work under the direct and almost complete control of his parents. Today, with the growth of the city and the factory system, with its intricate divisions of labor and the demand for specialization, much of the old parental influence has disappeared.²⁵ This is true even in

²⁴See supra, footnote 23, p. 134.

²⁵Professor Burgess says: "In our modern society the family pattern is no longer the sole factor, and not always the chief one, in determining the vocational choices and standards of conduct of young people. In a neighborhood of second immigrant settlement in Chicago only six out of over four hundred boys planned to follow in the occupational footsteps of their fathers. In a residential community of well-to-do Americans of native

rural areas, where the influences of the modern industrial system have not failed to reach. However, the influence is not as marked as in the modern city. The modern city shows variations in parental influence from one area to another. It looks as though the different communities set different standards of aspiration in occupational ambitions.

Our conclusion would be that modern parents in America have lost another important influence, as a primary group, to the larger and more formal organization of our social and economic system.

Other aspects of this study have revealed that the primary group is losing many of its former functions. These functions are being gradually absorbed by other organizations. Few of the other organizations, however, have any of the intimate, informal relationships of the primary group. The relationships in the other groups are formal. In the change from the informal primary group controls to the formal institutionalized controls many conflicts result. This situation will be considered next.

ancestry a considerably higher proportion but still a small fraction of sons were planning to follow the same pursuits as their fathers" (Kimball Young [ed.], Social Attitudes [New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1931], p. 202).

CHAPTER VIII

CONFLICT BETWEEN FORMAL AND INFORMAL CONTROL

We have shown in preceding chapters that the city is the milieu of the secondary group and rural areas that of the primary group.¹ At the same time we made clear that the primary group does exist in the city but in very much of an atrophied form when compared with similar groups in rural districts.² The secondary type of contact is simply dominant in the city and primary contact dominant in the country. The city and the small rural town both have secondary and primary contacts among their respective populations.³ We saw that the instability of population in the city, due to such conditions as congestion of population, specialization in occupations, the diversification of cultural and racial factors, and mobility, caused a break-up of primary groups.⁴ It has been necessary, therefore, to substitute another type of control, that which we have called secondary. We described the secondary relationship as impersonal, indirect, non-emotional, unfriendly, aloof, and formal as compared with the primary relationship, which is personal, subjective, emotional, friendly, intimate, and informal.⁵

It is our purpose in this chapter to examine the relationships between the secondary and primary types of control as they function in the urban environment. By control we have reference to social control or the influence exerted by the members of a group upon an individual in such a way as to give him habits and attitudes and a behavior that is in conformity with the desires of the group members. For example, the family group gives to the child habits and attitudes toward eating certain kinds of food; toward wearing one kind of clothes, if a boy, and another kind, if

¹See supra, Chap. I. Cf. Nels Anderson and E. C. Lindeman, Urban Sociology (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1928), p. 354.

²See supra, Chaps. II and III. Cf. Gist and Halbert, op. cit., p. 265.

³Cf. James L. Hypes, Social Participation in a Rural New England Town (New York: Columbia University Press, 1927), p. 99.

⁴See supra, Chap. II.

⁵See supra, Chap. I.

a girl; toward sleeping during certain hours; toward going to school; etc. Likewise the habits and attitudes learned in school, church, an occupation, or any other institutions or groups, such as gangs, play groups, cliques, etc., tend to produce uniform types of behavior. This influence of the group upon the individual, which is sometimes consciously administered, sometimes unconsciously, may be called social control.⁶

Both primary contacts and secondary contacts control the individual more or less whenever he comes under their respective influences. Sometimes the situation is more under the control of one than the other. Sometimes these controls function in harmony in the same situation. If they are in agreement, the control over the individual is more complete. If there is disagreement, however, conflict arises. It is especially these conflict situations between the primary group control and the secondary group control that we plan to examine more fully in this chapter.

In the primary group the control is informal, that is, it takes place in an unorganized manner, largely unplanned, chiefly through the mechanisms of imitation and suggestion. The interaction in the primary group is reciprocal; there is a give-and-take. Professor Young has described the primary group situation as that of "circular response."⁷ The secondary group, on the other hand, is formal in its control. It is organized and planned. It comes about chiefly through the mechanisms of rules, regulations, codes, and law. The control in the secondary group is largely non-reciprocal; it comes from one direction. There is a "linear response" instead of a circular one as in the primary group. Formal and informal control will be considered in this chapter in respect to their conflict relationships.

We have said that the individual forms habits and attitudes in conformity with the desires of the group in which he resides. It seems to be the nature of habits and attitudes to retain their organization against opposition; at least, they

⁶It is our purpose here simply to indicate some of the more obvious aspects of social control in order to interpret more intelligently some of the data which follow. The subject of social control has many more ramifications than indicated above and is more fully treated in the following sources: E. A. Ross, Social Control (New York: Macmillan Co., 1901); Robert E. Park and Ernest W. Burgess, Introduction to the Science of Sociology (2d ed.; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1924), Chap. XII; Frederick E. Lumsley, Means of Social Control (New York: Century Co., 1925).

⁷Source Book for Social Psychology, p. 374.

change with more or less resistance. If the individual remains in an isolated rural area where his group contacts are relatively simple and largely primary, little conflict is likely to arise. If he moves, however, from one group to another, especially if this movement is from a simple community to a complex environment, like that found in the large city, the conflicts resulting are numerous and intensive. This is true of the foreigner who comes from a simple primary group situation in the old country to city life in America. It is also true of the ruralite who moves to the large city, except that the difference between these two groups is not as great in the ruralite's case as with the foreigner and therefore the resulting conflict is not as great. Still less intensive conflicts result when the urbanite moves from one area of the city to another. This is especially true if the definitions of the new group are different from those of his old group.⁸ This is usually the case in a large city, where the definitions are so varied and numerous.

In the case of the child the situation is different from that of the immigrant or the ruralite for he comes into his first group without any habits or attitudes. He acquires these, first in the family, then in play groups of the local neighborhood, and later in contacts with the church, the school, and other community institutions. In the rural primary group community the agreement between the home and other institutions is likely to be such that very little conflict follows as a result of the various group contacts of the child. In the large city it is different. There the home or other primary group contacts of the child may present him with definitions that are in direct opposition with those of the school, the church, or other institutions. Even the definitions of the various formal groups with which the child makes contact are often in conflict. Since these are more numerous in the city as compared to the rural districts, the child is more likely to be confused in determining which definitions to obey. This period of confusion is the period of conflict which may end in delinquency or at least a disorganized personality.

The following outline will help us to see the whole range of informal and formal control. The classification is by no means complete but considers only a few of the groups and institutions where one or the other type of control is found. The classification is organized on the basis of control mechanisms, control groups and institutions, and control situations.

⁸Cf. Thomas and Znaniecki, op. cit., pp. 68 ff.

A. Informal Control.

I. Control Mechanisms.

1. In the Neighborhood and Community.
 - a) Gossip.
 - b) Scandal.
 - c) Scorn.
 - d) Ostracism.
 - e) Epithets.
 - f) Ridicule.
2. In the Family Group.
 - a) Gestures (approval or disapproval).
 - b) Tensions.
 - c) Epithets.
 - d) Sarcasm.
 - e) Ostracism.
 - f) Scorn.
 - g) Suggestions.
 - h) Ridicule.
 - i) Requests.
3. In School.
 - a) Gossip.
 - b) Scandal.
 - c) Scorn.
 - d) Ostracism.
 - e) Epithets.
 - f) Ridicule.
 - g) Sarcasm.
 - h) Suggestions.
 - i) Requests.
4. In Church and Religious Organizations.
 - a) Gossip.
 - b) Scandal.
 - c) Scorn.
 - d) Ostracism.
 - e) Epithets.
 - f) Ridicule.
 - g) Sarcasm.
 - h) Suggestions.
 - i) Requests.
5. In Work Group or Occupations.
 - a) Gossip.
 - b) Scandal.
 - c) Scorn.
 - d) Ostracism.
 - e) Epithets.

- f) Ridicule.
- g) Sarcasm.
- h) Suggestions.
- i) Commands.
- j) Requests.

II. Control Groups and Institutions.

1. In the Neighborhood and Community.
 - a) Gangs.
 - b) Cliques.
 - c) Friendship groups.
 - d) Play groups.
 - e) Scouts.
 - f) Camp-fire Girls.
 - g) Etc.
2. In the Family Groups.
 - a) Brothers', sisters', cousins' groups.
3. In School.
 - a) Friendship groups.
 - b) Gangs.
 - c) Play groups.
 - d) Cliques.
 - e) Fraternities.
 - f) Sororities.
 - g) Interest clubs.
4. In Church and Religious Organizations.
 - a) Friendship groups.
 - b) Play groups.
 - c) Gangs.
 - d) Cliques.
 - e) Etc.
5. In Work Groups or Occupations.
 - a) Friendship groups.
 - b) Play groups.
 - c) Gangs.
 - d) Cliques.
 - e) Etc.

III. Control Situations.

1. In the Neighborhood and Community.
 - a) Interest in and attachment for neighbors' children.
 - b) Play and leisure time activities.
 - c) Role of the person in neighborhood or community.
 - d) Role of parents, brothers, or sisters in neighborhood or community.

2. In the Family Group.
 - a) Mutual participation in activities of interest.
 - b) Attachment between members.
 - c) Family scenes, quarrels.
 - d) Parental partiality.
 - e) Prestige of family name, status.
 - f) Attachment between the sexes (family attitude toward).
 - g) Role played by various members.
 - h) Tension of members.
 - i) Idealization (the hero, as older brother).
3. In School.
 - a) Personal interest or disinterest of teachers in the children.
 - b) School spirit.
 - c) Sex attachment.
 - d) Friendship attachments.
 - e) Play and leisure time activities.
 - f) Attitude of students toward self-government.
4. In Church and Religious Organizations.
 - a) Leisure time activities.
 - b) Church "socials."
 - c) Church dinners.
 - d) Church plays.
 - e) Church pageants.
5. In Work Groups or Occupations.
 - a) Opportunity for criminal acts.
 - b) Opportunity for personally disorganizing knowledge.
 - c) Opportunity for freedom from family control (economic independence).
 - d) Like or dislike of "Boss."
 - e) Sense of success or failure in relation to fellow workers.

B. Formal Control.

I. Control Mechanism.

1. In the Neighborhood and Community.
 - a) Myths and legends.
 - b) Curfew.
 - c) Policemen (the uniform, "the law").
2. In the Family Group.
 - a) Arbitrary commands.
 - b) Myths and legends.
 - c) Punishment (threatening).
 - d) Hourly and daily accounting.

e) Rewards and promises.

3. In School.

a) Rules and regulations of teachers or Boards of Education.

(1) Attendance in class.

(2) Dress.

(3) Non-smoking.

(4) Talking.

(5) Excuses for tardiness or absence.

b) Regulations of State.

(1) Compulsory attendance.

c) Regulations by Students.

(1) Student self-government.

d) Merits and demerits.

4. In Church and Religious Organizations.

a) Myths and legends.

b) Church ritual.

5. In Work Groups or Occupations.

a) Routine—hours of work.

b) Rules and regulations of the "Boss."

c) State laws regulating work.

II. Control Groups and Institutions.

1. In the Neighborhood and Community.

a) School.

b) Church.

c) Sub-divisions of church and school.

2. In the Family Group.

a) Rewards and punishment (traditions in family or society).

3. In School.

a) Rewards and punishment (cultural traditions).

b) School organization.

4. In Church.

a) Young peoples' organizations.

b) Revivals.

c) Prayer meetings.

5. In Work Groups or Occupations.

a) Routine—hours of work.

b) Traditions of efficiency.

c) Traditions of inefficiency (e.g., I.W.W.).

III. Control Situations.

1. In the Neighborhood and Community.

a) Police regulations.

b) Juvenile court regulations.

c) Municipal regulations.

- d) School regulations.
- e) Church regulations.
- 2. In the Family Group.
 - a) Domination of parents in courtship and marriage.
 - b) Traditions of romantic love.
- 3. In School.
 - a) School "atmosphere."
- 4. In Church and Religious Organizations.
 - a) Sermons.
 - b) Sunday School lessons and Bible study.
 - c) Revivals.
 - d) Church "atmosphere."
- 5. In Work Group or Occupations.
 - a) Efficiency.

It can be seen from the foregoing outline that formal and informal control both function in the neighborhood and community, the family, the school, the church, and in occupational groups; and that the individual is subject to both types of control in all the situations. This should call to our attention the many opportunities for conflict between the two types of control. We shall confine our attention largely to conflicts arising out of the school, home, and neighborhood or community situations.

Professor Thrasher has explained very adequately the significance of informal control in the following statement:

"Most of the definitions of facts (social values) which the group gives its members are not acquired through the formal processes of education as exemplified in schools and other educational agencies. Rather they are the result of the universal process of social interaction which is expressed in face-to-face non-verbal contacts, but more largely through various types of communication which use social symbols or collective representations. It is this informal education which results in the transmission of the great body of folk knowledge and practical experience, which is utilized in daily life and in contacts with one's neighbors. Such informal educative processes are not intentional and are quite unconscious. Yet, it is through such processes that the great mass of non-technical knowledge is acquired, and they are so effective that the personality and character of the child are shaped by them in a thousand different ways."⁹

Professor Thrasher goes on to say that teachers and school officials usually have only superficial knowledge of the neighborhood which they serve and this knowledge is organized in terms of

⁹Journal of Educational Sociology, VII, 471.

individual pupils rather than in sociological terms of the characteristics and needs of the local groups and institutions and of the neighborhood and community as a whole.¹⁰ For this reason the formal organization of the school conflicts with the "informal education" of the neighborhood and community. Many of the problems of the school could be solved if school officials would recognize that the education of the child takes place through informal contacts as well as formal. The visiting teacher movement is in recognition of this situation and will remedy it somewhat if adequately carried out.¹¹

Professor Thrasher points out in the foregoing quotation that the "personality and character of the child are shaped" through the informal contacts. The kind of character and personality formed will depend upon the kind of informal groups the child meets. In delinquency areas, the child is likely to be delinquent; in a wholesome area, he is likely to develop a personality that is in agreement with the definitions of the larger group. The recent attempts to formalize character education within the church and the school have been inadequate since they have not recognized the great influence of the informal groups in character formation. Examples of attempts at formalizing character education are the churches taking all the children of the school one hour per week for religious instruction and the moral code plan by which the school teacher presents a list of virtues to be memorized and repeated by the children. These plans do not recognize the fact that morals develop through actual experience and not by precepts. The many vivid experiences of the informal group counteract any such feeble attempts to formalize character education as those mentioned above.¹²

"The child's code [according to Thomas and Thomas] tends to be developed in connection with his activities and wants, and in a social setting, that is, in connection with the standards and behavior of his group. The superimposition of a code of moral phrases, slogans, and rules of conduct will probably be effective to the degree that the child's own conception of what is admirable is utilized."¹³

¹⁰Ibid., p. 476.

¹¹Cf. William I. Thomas and Dorothy S. Thomas, The Child in America (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1928), p. 228.

¹²Cf. Ellsworth Faris, "The Sociologist and the Educator," American Journal of Sociology, XXXIII (March, 1928), 799.

¹³The Child in America, p. 290.

Miss Boardman recognizes that the child has contacts within the home and the neighborhood before he enters school and that these must be understood by the teacher before she can give the child formal training in an adequate manner. If this were true many conflicts between formal and informal control would be avoided.¹⁴

The conflict between the authority (formal control) of the home and the folkways (informal control) of the larger community is brought out by the following case:

"Helen's parents were exceedingly strict. They did not want her to wear the 'immodest' style of clothes affected by other girls; they disapproved of rouge and lipstick; most of all they disapproved of dancing and visits from boys. Helen liked the boys and wanted a good time. She began to flirt with the boys at school, to make dates with them there, and to go to dances with them, stealing out of the house to do so. Each recurrence of such misconduct was rebuked severely by her parents, and twice her father had beaten her upon her return from stolen pleasures. After some time the visiting teacher was able to persuade the parents that they were wrong and that the best thing would be to let Helen have parties at home. When this was done the difficulty disappeared."¹⁵

The case above illustrates the power of informal groups to control the behavior of the individual even against the authority of the home. Companions and friends of the same age group appear to have a tremendous influence upon one another.

"Clara, a very sincere girl of the seventh grade, frankly told her mother that she does not know what to do about smoking because 'all the girls smoke' and she seems to be an outcast because she does not."¹⁶

So far in this chapter we have called attention to the fact that the rural district is the environment of the primary group and the urban area that of the secondary group. At the same time we have shown that each area has both kinds of contacts but at different degrees. We have defined social control and related it to informal and formal control. We have seen how the habits and attitudes of the individual once formed through his group

¹⁴Rhea K. Boardman, "The Transition from Home to School," Journal of Educational Sociology, VII (February, 1934), 371-78.

¹⁵Adapted from: Phyllis Blanchard, The Child and Society (New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1928), p. 111.

¹⁶Blumenthal, Small-Town Stuff, p. 257.

contacts resist change through contacts in other groups and institutions. We have shown that the city offers more opportunity for conflict between informal and formal control than does the rural area. The conflict between formal and informal control was considered, which revealed the important place held by the informal group in the formation of character and personality, especially of the child.

We shall turn now to a further examination of the conflict between formal and informal control as it takes place within one institution, a city high school. We have chosen for this purpose the University High School, located in Hyde Park and affiliated with the University of Chicago. We shall not consider the full program of the school nor make any attempt to present a complete study nor to evaluate the school. We shall select those aspects of the school's program and phases of conflict that seem to reveal best the relationships between formal and informal control. The following questions will point more specifically to our interest: How do rules, regulations, and discipline in the University High School conflict with the attitudes formed by the students in informal relationships? What conflicts arise out of attempts of the students to administer formal control upon themselves? How do political factions formed through informal groups conflict with the regulations of the school and the traditions of the student body? What is the effect of these conflicts upon the personality of the students?

The University High School, formed by the union of the Chicago Manual Training School and the South Side Academy, was opened October 1, 1903. The school offers a five-year course of study consisting of Sub-Freshmen, Freshmen, Sophomore, Junior, and Senior years. The administration reserves the right to select only students whom they believe will carry on the high ideals of scholarship and morality traditional of the school. The tuition for the year is \$275.

There are at least two factors mentioned above which tend to make University High School a select group. First, the administration reserves the privilege of turning down any applicant who does not seem to come up to the standards set by the school, and, second, the high tuition fee would tend to eliminate a large percentage of students. The tendency of the group, then, would be toward a unity of cultural background. This helps to make for success in the many experiments that are tried at the school. A spot map which has been made locating the homes of University High School students shows that they live in the best sections of Hyde Park, Kenwood, Woodlawn, and South Shore communities.¹⁷

¹⁷The University High School was chosen for study not be-

When compared with other schools, University High School appears rather free from rules and regulations. The school has an advantage over a public school in that a boy or girl may be dismissed if he or she persists in disregarding school standards. This, of course, may happen in public high schools but only after methods of discipline have failed. A limited number of students is admitted to University High School, so there is always a long waiting list. It is very desirable for the student to enter the school and desirable for the parents to gain entry for the student. These various reasons, no doubt, reduce the necessity for rules and regulations.¹⁸ Some rules and regulations do exist in U. High and these will now be considered. The first will be the girls' dress regulations.

A girl is required to sign and have one of her parents sign the dress regulations before she is admitted to University High School. The dress regulations for 1923 and 1924 were as follows:

"UNIVERSITY HIGH SCHOOL

"Dress Regulations for 1923-24

"For several years the aim of the University High School has been to counteract the prevailing tendency toward extravagant and extreme dressing. All regulations for school have emphasized healthfulness, suitability, simplicity, and refinement. To further the ideals and aims of the administration and our most interested patrons the school proposes as desirable the following:

"Dress.- Simple and inconspicuous woolen or cotton dresses. Velvet and silk dresses are not approved. 'Middies' or plain waists worn with woolen or cotton skirts of modest length and fullness. Sleeves to the elbow. A minimum of simple, inconspicuous jewelry.

"Shoes.- Neat, low-heeled, plain oxfords or high shoes.

cause it was typical of Hyde Park community but because it offered material for conflict between formal and informal control. The small number of students, the cultural and racial homogeneity, and the economic status of its patrons should make University High School more successful in administrative experiments in formal control than a more cosmopolitan high school. Therefore experiments which do not succeed here should be even more unsuccessful in other schools. The conflict here, between formal and informal control, should appear in intensified form in other high schools.

¹⁸Cf. Announcements, University High School, 1924-25, p. 20.

(This does not include pumps, fancy two-toned oxfords, and patent leather shoes with straps.) Plain dark stockings. Woolen stockings should be inconspicuous in pattern and color.

"Hair.- Simple arrangement of hair with no conspicuous pins or combs. Bobbed hair should be only moderately curled. Entire absence of rouge, no lip stick, powder in moderation.

"A girl who cannot carry out these regulations will be regarded as an unsatisfactory pupil and she will be requested to seek another school.

"We have read the rules above, thoroughly understand them, and are interested in furthering the aims and ideals of the school.

"Signed _____
Parent

"Signed _____
Daughter"

The dress regulations as given above are those laid down by the school administration. These were in force until October, 1924. The enforcing of the rules was largely in the hands of Miss Smithies, the dean of girls. Both Miss Smithies and the students admit that there was much estrangement between her and the girls, largely because of the enforcement of the dress regulations. A girl resented "being talked to" or sent home for a change of clothing. There had been considerable agitation for less stringent regulations. The upper classmen felt that they could control the situation themselves. So in October, 1924, the enforcement of the dress regulations was taken over by the girls' club. Miss Smithies says, in regard to the dress regulations:

"The enforcement is our one great problem here. We think it has worked remarkably well. If you look through the school you will find the girls dressed extremely modestly, and many of them are from wealthy families. But this year the dress regulations have been placed in the hands of the Girls' Club. They are being much more strict than we could ever have hoped to be. It is being tried as an experiment and we think it is going to work."¹⁹

The revised regulations as adopted by the girls' club are as follows:

"DRESS REGULATIONS FOR 1924-25

"TO BE SIGNED AND RETURNED TO THE HIGH SCHOOL OFFICE

"A joint committee of the Girls' Club Board for 1924-1925 after serious discussion voted the following regulations of dress for the girls of the University High School. It is

¹⁹From an interview with Miss Smithies. November 17, 1924.

hoped that all mothers and daughters will give their co-operation in furthering these ideals.

"Dress.- Simple and inconspicuous woolen, or cotton dresses. Velvet and silk dresses are not approved. 'Middies' or plain waists worn with woolen or cotton skirts of modest length and fullness. Sleeves to the elbow or slightly above.

"Shoes.- Practical street or sport oxfords or strapped slippers which are in keeping with the rest of the costume. (This does not include any suede, satin, or patent leather.) Heels should be low. French or Baby French not allowed.

"Hair.- Simple arrangement of hair with no conspicuous pins or combs. Hair should be moderately curled.

"Cosmetics.- Entire absence of rouge, lipstick, eyebrow and lash blackening; perfume and powder in moderation.

"Jewelry.- A minimum of simple inconspicuous jewelry.

"Stockings.- In keeping with the rest of the costume. No chiffon or sun-kissed or real tight flesh colored.

"A special bulletin will be posted in the spring stating what costume is allowed and approved at that time.

"Girls who cannot comply with these suggestions will be considered undesirable members of the school.

"Signed, Girls' Club Board, 1923-24

Margaret Hitt, Pres.

"Signed, Girls' Club Board, 1924-25

Helen Lamborn, Pres.

"We have read the above and are willing to co-operate with the Girls' Club in furthering wholesomeness, suitability, and modesty in dress.

"Signed _____
Mother

"Signed _____
Daughter

"Date _____"

It may be interesting to call attention to the differences between these two sets of rules, i.e., the ones made by the faculty and those agreed upon by the girls. In regard to "Dress" the sleeves may be slightly above the elbow while before they must be to the elbow. Shoes should be "in keeping with the rest of the costume." They may wear sport oxfords or strapped slippers but these must be practical. There was no change in rules regarding hair, but in regard to the use of cosmetics the girls have added "no eyebrow and lash blackening" and "perfume in moderation." "A minimum of simple inconspicuous jewelry" is the same as it appears in the first set of rules. But when it comes to stockings there has to be considerable change. Under the faculty rules the girls

wear only "plain dark stockings." The girls have changed this to read "stockings in keeping with the rest of the costume," and have added "no chiffon or sun-kissed or real tight flesh colored." This allows them to wear silk stockings of different colors. Nothing is said about fancy woolen stockings in the girls' rules. Before the rules were changed, there was more trouble and dissatisfaction over stockings than any other part of the costume. The girls felt that "plain dark" stockings did not always go with other parts of the costume. That is perhaps the reason for the phrase "in keeping with the rest of the costume."

Now, since the girls had decided to take over the enforcement of the dress regulations, how did they propose to carry out the task? At the Board meeting of October 9, 1924,

"It was decided that the Girls' Club Board would be in full charge of enforcing the regulations since it had made them. The Board is to meet every two weeks to discuss the girls who do not abide by them. The girl should be given a certain number of trials. If she continues she should be sent a notice reminding her that she signed a pledge. If she does not heed the warning after two notes have been sent, further action (to be decided upon later) will be taken. None of the Board should discuss the matters above outside of a meeting to anyone."²⁰

From an examination of the minutes of the Girls' Club Board from November, 1924, to March, 1925, it would appear that the enforcement of the dress regulations has caused considerable conflict between some of the students and the Board members. The president of the Board stated:

"Several of the girls have told me that even though they know they are not guilty of breaking any of the rules, they can't help looking at themselves when they see me coming. I don't want them to have this feeling. I'm sure there is no resentment but I want them to see that it is a club duty and the Girls' Club Board is only responsible for seeing the rules carried out and that this duty does not fall upon the president alone."²¹

Up until March 4, 1925, sixteen cases had been called to the attention of the Board. These are given in the list which follows, with the type of offense.

²⁰From the minutes of the Girls' Club Board.

²¹From an interview, President of the Girls' Club, March 4, 1925.

<u>Case</u>	<u>Offense</u>
No. 1	Dress - silk
No. 2	Silk dresses - Reminder sent.
No. 3	Cosmetics
No. 4	Shoes
No. 5	Cosmetics
No. 6	Shoes
No. 7	Cosmetics
No. 8	Cosmetics - Lip sticks
No. 9	Cosmetics
No. 10	Cosmetics
No. 11	Shoes
No. 12	Cosmetics
No. 13	Shoes
No. 14	Cosmetics - Reminder sent.
No. 15	Shoes, Cosmetics, Dress (before Board).
No. 16	Shoes

An inquiry in January, 1929, of the Dean of Girls revealed that the enforcement of the dress regulations was still in the hands of the Girls' Club. She felt that the girls had made a success of their task. Difficulties still arose, but these difficulties always concerned a minority of the girls. "If we could take out twenty-five girls from the three hundred, we could dispense with all dress regulations," said the Dean. The dress regulations are changed slightly each year to conform with changes acceptable to conservative public opinion.²²

Many of the difficulties which arise out of a situation such as that of dress regulation do not reveal themselves in overt behavior but in attitudes of passive resistance and resentment. Where the girl is subject to the informal control of her classmates and other students of her own age, when she sees other girls in other schools wearing things she cannot wear, when she sees University girls wearing the latest fads and fashions, she is likely to resent what she considers an unnecessary regulation of the school. Whether this will teach her to be modest in dress in later years is doubtful. She is more likely to go to extremes in dress later and even during the time she is in school but at social functions outside of school hours.²³

The enforcement of the dress regulations by the girls themselves caused an estrangement to grow up between the enforcing group and the others. Little of value is accomplished by such a

²²From an interview with the Dean of Girls.

²³I found some evidence of this among the University High School girls.

plan except to take from the hands of the faculty much of the disagreeable work. The extreme cases are always taken to the faculty anyway. The example of the dress regulations is a good case of the conflict between formal control, that of regulations of an institution, and the informal control which comes through the form of imitation and suggestion.

Every boy and girl upon entering University High School must make an anti-fraternity pledge. A copy of the pledge as it appears in the catalogue of announcements follows:

"ANTI-FRATERNITY PLEDGE

"The following pledge must be signed by every student in University High School. It is regarded as an absolute promise and must be faithfully kept:

"I, _____, hereby declare that I am not a member of any fraternity, sorority, or other secret society and that I am not pledged to any such society. I hereby promise, without any mental reservation, that, as long as I shall be a member of the University High School, I will not join any secret society, that I will have no connection whatever with any secret society, nor be present at any meeting of any secret society, in this school or elsewhere. I also declare that I regard myself bound to keep these promises, and on no account to violate any of them."

The following statement is from a former graduate of the University High School and shows what has actually happened:

"The most fashionable set in the school was composed of about twenty of the older boys of the school. They were members of a National High School fraternity, the only one in school. It was exclusive, and practically all of its members were of wealthy families. Its name was Omicron Kappa Pi, and although its existence was necessarily secret, a great many of the other boys of the school soon became aware of its existence. Their social plane was somewhat above that of the other members of the school, and as a consequence their program was more pretentious. Frequent parties at the expensive homes of the various members, and occasional formal dances at hotels or country clubs also took place."²⁴

In a talk with this same student I asked him if there was any desire or attempt to inform the faculty, by non-members, of the existence of the fraternity. He said that he did not believe anyone ever considered such a thing. Did the families of the boys know of the existence of the fraternity and that the boys had signed a pledge?

²⁴Unpublished document, a graduate of U. High.

"Oh, yes, some of them did and some of them didn't. The boys met in the homes of the parents who did not care; others had to keep it a secret from their parents. Formal clothes and drinking of liquor was a part of their group meetings or 'parties.'"

The meetings, "parties," etc., of the fraternity described above would necessarily take place outside the school, but the group must participate in school activities within the school. Now, the question is, what has been the effect of this organization upon other activities within the school? The following quotation from the same graduate mentioned above is revealing regarding this:

"An example of the functioning of a 'political group' may be cited in the case of the members of the aristocratic group of the O.K.P. fraternity. These boys wanted their fraternity to have as many of the offices in the school as was possible. They were also well represented on the athletic field, and in more than one case they have conspired together in an effort to control the personnel of the team, as far as was practical. For instance, when a member of the fraternity was playing with the team, the other fellows on the team who were his fellow-members would make an effort to show the unsuspecting coach that the team was a better one with the presence of the member whose ability was in question. Likewise, when the other candidate for the position was 'in scrimmage,' the fraternity boys would pass the ball to him so he could not catch it, and employ various other means to make him 'look bad.' These measures were in some cases rather successful, in others not. These facts were suspected by few, if any, students outside the fraternity, and were known by the writer because he had an intimate friend who was a member of this fraternity. This group always voted as a group in elections, but its membership was too small to be a factor, except in cases where the election was close. There was no opposing faction to this group, since few people knew of its existence, and since also it was the only organization of its type in the school."²⁵

What happens in the University High School, both in respect to making pledges and breaking them, occurs in most high schools and in a more extreme form. Some states even have laws against fraternities and sororities in high school. The control of the law does not seem to be any more effective than the

²⁵Unpublished document, from a University High School graduate.

pledge.²⁶ The anti-fraternity pledge is another good example of the failure of formal control when it meets the opposition of the informal group control. The question arises whether the making and breaking of a pledge, the secretiveness involved, etc., are not more destructive of wholesome personality than would be an open recognition of fraternities. It might be that a more adequate provision for the student's social life, by both the home and the school, would forestall or make harmless such organizations.

There is an unwritten rule regarding smoking on the campus of U. High. If a boy is caught smoking within a radius of two blocks of the school he will be expelled. Since the limit of the rule is two blocks, the boys go just over the "dead line" and smoke all they wish. The principal will say nothing to boys outside of this area. A few years ago the boys formed the habit of meeting in restaurants and soft drink parlors on Fifty-seventh Street for a smoke. They were caught and threatened by the principal. Now they go across the street just outside this area in an alley for their smoking.²⁷

²⁶Mr. Lynd says regarding Middletown: "The backbone of the purely social clubs is the series of unofficial branches of former high school fraternities and sororities. Middletown boasts four Alpha chapters. For a number of years a state law has banned these high school organizations but the interests of active graduate chapters keep them alive. The high school clubs have harmless names such as the Glendale Club; a boy is given a long, impressive initiation into his club but is not nominally a member of the fraternity of which his club is the undergraduate section until after he graduates, when it is said that by uttering of a few hitherto unspoken words he comes into his heritage. Under this ambiguous status dances have been given with the club name on the front of the program and the fraternity name on the back. Two girls' clubs and two boys' clubs which everyone wants to make are the leaders. Trailing down from them are a long list of lesser clubs. Informal meetings are usually in homes of members but the formal fall, spring and Christmas functions are always elaborate hotel affairs" (op. cit., p. 215).

²⁷Since making this study I have observed the same situation in several high schools and in a college where there were rules prohibiting smoking on the campus. The boys would congregate "just across the line" for smoking. Some of these schools were in a state which, at the time, had an anti-cigarette law, but where cigarettes could be bought by anyone at twenty-five cents per package instead of fifteen cents. Those who did not wish to

The following statement shows the attitude that is formed by the boy because of this rule in a specific case:

"In several cases boys, after graduation, have appeared on the school grounds smoking a cigarette, puffing proudly in the face of the principal, who would pass by, despite the fact that any member of the school who did this within a radius of two blocks of the school would be immediately expelled. On one occasion the principal, Mr. S—, seeing one of the alumni smoking among a number of high school boys, asked him to put it out. The boy refused, despite the threats of the principal, much to the glee of the onlooking boys."²⁸

The Dean of Girls informed me in 1929 that smoking among the girls of U. High was beginning to be a problem. "But what are you going to do when the girls smoke at home with their fathers and mothers?" said Miss Smithies. In telling one of the girls that she did not show good taste in smoking, the girl replied, "But I do not want to be considered a 'prune' by my friends." "One of the mothers was very indignant recently because I mentioned smoking as one of the moral problems," said Miss Smithies. "The mother said, 'Why, both my daughter and I smoke. I consider ourselves absolutely moral!'"

The situations in regard to smoking by students in the high school show the conflicting forces operating upon both boys and girls. On the one hand we have the formal rule of the school and on the other the informal influence of friendship groups and sometimes the approval of the home. The situation reveals, I believe, the point made earlier in this chapter, that morality is a product of the total social situation and grows out of actual experience and not a condition brought in from the outside.²⁹

break the state law regarding the sale of cigarettes within the state brought them in by the carton from outside or sent for them by mail.

²⁸Unpublished document.

²⁹See supra, p. 146. Hartshorne and May make the following statement: "There is no evidence for supposing that children who are more likely to resort to deceptive methods than others would not use honorable methods with equal satisfaction if the situation in which dishonesty is practiced were sufficiently controlled by those who are responsible for their behavior. That is, the main attention of education should be placed not so much on devices for teaching honesty or any other 'trait' as on the reconstruction of school practices in such a way as to provide not occasional but consistent and regular opportunities for the successful use by both teachers and pupils of such forms of conduct as make for common good" (op. cit., p. 414).

The Student Court is an experiment which is being tried at University High School in student discipline by students themselves. The "Court" comprises about a half dozen of the boys and girls holding the highest elective offices among the student organizations. They carry out some of the student disciplinary measures which the principal of the school formerly did. Such minor offenses as cutting chapel, rowdiness in the corridors, and general unsavory conduct fall under the jurisdiction of the "Court." They reprimand the offender, and, in some cases, levy minor penalties while others they refer to the principal.

The following statement from a former student in the University High School shows the attitude of the students toward the group of officials comprising the "Court":

"The reaction of the student body as a whole toward this group, as I found it, cannot be said to be a favorable one. Those, of course, who have not come in contact, either directly or indirectly, with it, have little or no true reaction to it, since they have nothing with which to form an opinion. The majority of them, however, have either been summoned before it or have friends who have, and sympathize with the unfriendly attitude toward it. Their chief resentment is the fact that the boys and girls comprising the court are far too officious and harsh in their handling of the 'victim' who is before them, despite the fact that they are dealing with a fellow student, who considers himself to be at least their equal, rather than a subject, as he is treated. Often, these objectors say the members of the court are guilty of the same offenses for which they severely reprimand other students. One of them, in particular, is one of the 'rowdiest' and noisiest of any of the boys in the school, and it is said that he would not be re-elected to the office, because of his unpopularity due to his tactics as a member of the court. Boys who have been summoned before the court claim that the members use it to settle personal animosities between themselves and members of the student body, and for this reason are often very unreasonable in their accusations. One young boy, when hailed before them, was told, in a harsh, 'school-teacherish voice' to take that chewing gum out of his mouth when talking to them. The boys would not resent this sort of action if it came from a member of the faculty, but to be ordered around in such a fashion by one of their own number seems to go against their grain."³⁰

Disciplinary control by students may take considerable of the load off the shoulders of the administrative head but it does

³⁰Unpublished document.

cause estrangement between the enforcing body and the others. Some of the statements above show that the disciplinarian cannot possibly be a member of the group that is being disciplined. This is a necessary phase of discipline. So when we see one group of students attempting a function that is disciplinary toward another group, we cannot expect the groups ever to be one group, at least one primary group. In these situations one must look further than the immediate end, that of acceptable overt behavior.

The regulation or formal control may be successful, apparently, while at the same time attitudes of resentment are established which become strong forces in the ultimate control of the individual. The informal control is more powerful than the formal when viewed from this angle, for the attitude is the future determiner of behavior.

One of the chief aspects of the democratic plan in America is to hold elections to determine who shall hold certain offices. The assumption is that the best man will be selected by the voters for the office and that each voter will determine his choice individually. As everyone knows, the real control is in the hands of a small active group of office seekers or small factions and groups who have some special interest in the outcome of the election. This same democratic plan is copied by our schools in their elections for student officials with practically the same methods of control and manipulation.

In the University High School elections are held several times a year for the various class offices, the student council, the Girls' Club, etc. The assumption of the student body and the school officials is that all elections are open and "above board." I have found from interviews with students and faculty that most of the important offices in student activities are held by the members of a close intimate friendship group. Most of the members of the group have come all the way through high school together and some of them through elementary school. This might be what would be expected since the important offices are held by upper classmen and they have associated together for several years. This group of officials, however, is more than just an ordinary friendship group; the members are one another's best friends. The situation is perhaps explained by a former student of the school, who said that small friendship groups, such as the fraternity mentioned above, athletic teams, informal social clubs, etc., would get together before the elections and decide among themselves whom the officers were to be. Then by manipulating public opinion they could carry the elections.

The case of the elections illustrates again the influence of the informal groups in their control over that of formal con-

tacts as exemplified, in this case, by the democratic plan of elections.

In the section of this chapter on the University High School we have shown the conflict of formal control and informal control in such situations as that of the girls' dress regulations, the regulations regarding fraternities, smoking, and conflicts arising out of the student "court" and in school politics. We have seen that the informal control is quite important in all cases, either in counteracting the rules and regulations or in forming attitudes that would determine future behavior in opposition to the intent of the rule or regulation. What is the effect of such situations upon personality? Perhaps the most injurious aspect is the deception which is involved, especially in such cases as the anti-fraternity pledge and non-smoking rule. These and the other situations may cause the individual to resent all formal control later in life and, in cities where so much formal control is required, it makes for an attitude of disrespect toward all law. The children may get an attitude that all laws are made to be broken. It is perhaps true that unnecessary laws are made, but, after all, the only way to control the complex situation in the large city is by building attitudes of respect into the individual mind toward formal control.³¹ This is especially important during high school age.

Perhaps the most important phase of this discussion of the conflict between formal and informal control is the apparent influence of this conflict upon the character and personality of the individual.

We have seen how significant is the influence of informal contacts in forming attitudes and habits. The influence of informal contact often overcomes the power of formal control, resulting either in opposing overt behavior or attitudes that later lead to such behavior. The informal group has an important bearing upon personality and character because it reaches the child through vital experiences that are lived upon the child's level of thinking. The child is likely to think of rules and regulations as made for others, whereas informal contacts are of his own making. The organization of the child's personality will not be complete until leaders of formal groups, such as the school and church, recognize that character and personality are functions of

³¹Another procedure in the situation above would be to consider very carefully all formal rules and regulations and even law before it is put into operation. This plan might avoid much conflict between formal and informal control.

the total social situation and not just of certain segments of it. It has been evident throughout this study that personality is an important product of the city life. It will be our next task to summarize this evidence in such a way as to show its relation to the whole urban environment.

CHAPTER IX

THE URBAN COMMUNITY AND PERSONALITY

From the sociological point of view personality is a product of the cultural and social environment. The individual acquires a personality which grows out of his contacts in social groups.¹ "Man is not born human," as Park suggests. "It is only slowly and laboriously, in fruitful contact, co-operation, and conflict with his fellows, that he attains the distinctive qualities of human nature."² Human nature unlike animal nature is plastic; it evolves through interaction. Man's original nature makes this plasticity possible but it does not determine the patterns of his behavior as it does among animals. Man's ability to communicate through language was given to him by original nature but just how the language is to be organized, what meanings it conveys, depends upon the cultural heritage and social environment. This plasticity of human nature, therefore, permits man to acquire a personality as a result of experience in groups.³ The relationship between personality and the social and cultural environment is expressed quite well in the following statement:

"To understand the development and nature of personality it is necessary to know something of the social world in which the individual exists: of the persons with whom he comes in contact, of the social groups and institutions to which he

¹Professor Faris says: "The child acquires a personality. He does not acquire his heredity. He acquires his personality. . . . He becomes a person when he reaches that period, not always datable when the power of imagination enables him to reconstruct the past and build an image of himself and others" (Ellsworth Faris, "The Nature of Human Nature," Publications of the American Sociological Society, XX [December, 1925], 27).

²Park and Burgess, Introduction to the Science of Sociology, p. 76.

³Cf. Ruth Shonle Cavan and Jordan True Cavan, Building A Girl's Personality (Chicago: Abingdon Press, 1932), p. 13. Cf. Ernest W. Burgess, "The Cultural Approach to the Study of Personality," Mental Hygiene, XIV (April, 1930), 316.

belongs, of the various cultural traits and complexes which characterize the milieu in which he lives. For the two, personality and the social order, are inseparably bound together, and the one cannot be thoroughly understood unless seen in its relation to the other."⁴

To say, however, that personality is the product of the cultural and social environment does not explain its nature. Park and Burgess say that personality is the "sum and organization of those traits which determine the role of the individual in the group."⁵ The individual aspect of the behavior traits is retained in the form of habits and attitudes.⁶

"A detailed analysis of the crucial personality types in any given area or cultural group shows that they depend upon a set of habits and attitudes in the group for their existence and are the direct expressions of the values of the group. As the life of the group changes there appears a host of new social types, mainly outgrowths and transformations of previous patterns which have become fixed through experience."⁷

⁴Gist and Halbert, op. cit., p. 310. Cf. Kimball Young, Social Psychology (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1930), p. 233. Cf. Abraham Myerson, The Foundations of Personality (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1921), p. 35. Cf. Maurice H. Krout, Major Aspects of Personality (Chicago: College Press, 1933), p. 256. Cf. Anderson and Lindeman, op. cit., p. 221.

⁵Introduction to the Science of Sociology, p. 70.

⁶Cf. John Dewey, Human Nature and Conduct (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1922), Chap. I, pp. 14-23. Cf. Park and Burgess, The City, p. 100.

⁷Louis Wirth, "Some Jewish Types of Personality," Publications of the American Sociological Society, XX (December, 1925), 96. Dr. Thomas says: "I am assuming that habit formation is mainly responsible for the behavior traits of individuals, races, and nationalities, that these traits change much as fashions in dress, and almost as freely, only within decades and cultures instead of seasonally, and that dispositional traits, while they certainly do exist, are not distributed in blocks to national and racial groups, but rather to individuals in various proportions, so that there is an assortment of temperaments in all groups, seeming uniformities like the phlegm of the Englishman and the explosiveness of the Italian being mainly due to habit formation and the tendency of all dispositions to conform themselves to the prevailing fashion" (William I. Thomas, "The Problem of Personality in the Urban Environment," Publications of the American Sociological Society, XX [December, 1925], 30).

The situation presents two aspects. On the one hand we have the group life which results in culture. This is the objective aspect in the form of folkways, language, religion, and the various other institutions. On the other hand we have the habits and attitudes in the individual organized into personality. This is the subjective aspect.⁸ These two aspects are involved in every social situation, the habits and attitudes on the one hand and the culture on the other. These act and interact upon one another and produce personality.⁹

If personality is a product of the social and cultural environment, then personality should vary with variations in social environment. In another part of this study we have shown that rural life is vastly different from life in the city. Primary contacts characterized rural areas, whereas secondary contacts were more common in the city.¹⁰ The urban personality should vary, therefore, from personality in the country.¹¹ This is the case and we shall proceed to point out some of the general differences and later some of the more specific differences between rural and urban personalities.

For the purposes of explaining personality, one of the chief differences between the urban and the rural situation is the difference in contacts. In the city, contacts are largely impersonal, whereas in the country they are personal. The contrast between these two types of interaction has been described by Sorokin and Zimmerman as follows:

"Only an infinitesimal part of the persons with whom an urban individual interacts are personally known to him. The

⁸Cf. Ellsworth Faris, "The Subjective Aspect of Culture," Publications of the American Sociological Society, XIX (December, 1924), 44. Cf. Gist and Halbert, op. cit., p. 310.

⁹Professor Park says: "We are constantly remaking the world in accordance with our desires, but that world, once created, inevitably reacts back upon our desires to reshape them and define them in conformity with itself" (Robert E. Park, "Culture and Culture Trend," Publications of the American Sociological Society, XIX [December, 1924], 32).

¹⁰See supra, Chap. I.

¹¹Cf. Howard B. Woolston, "The Urban Habit of Mind," American Journal of Sociology, XVII (March, 1912), 602. Cf. Gist and Halbert, op. cit., pp. 311, 314. Anderson and Lindeman say: "Whenever a civilization is divided between country and city, a rural and an urban culture arises, defined by contrasting personality traits and types" (Urban Sociology, p. 225).

greater part of them are only 'numbers,' 'addresses,' 'clients,' 'customers,' 'patients,' 'readers,' 'laborers,' or 'employees.' As a rule, all are more or less unknown personally to the corresponding individuals. The very multitude of people with whom an urbanite is in contact; his own and their mobility; and the large area of his system of interaction make direct knowledge of this multitude impossible for him. They remain for him kinds of 'human abstractions,' or mere special agencies for definite kinds of interaction. Their whole Gestalt or personality remains unknown. Hence, the extraordinarily large place in the urbanite system of interaction occupied by the totality of indirect relations.

"Somewhat different is the same aspects of interaction system of the typical rural individual. He has relatively narrow area for his system of interaction; a limited number of individuals with whom he interacts; and a less number of indirect communications. All these lead to the fact that face-to-face relations (with his family, minister, teacher, neighbors, etc.), compose a much larger part of his whole system of interaction than of a typical urbanite. The human beings, with whom he interacts, are concrete in body and flesh. He touches, smells, sees, and hears them. For this reason, they are in a less degree, abstractions for him than for an urbanite. And the whole living personalities or Gestalts of those with whom he interacts are known more thoroughly to him than is the case of the urbanite."¹²

The impersonal relations in the city are likely to give the impression that city folk are brusque, cold, and unsympathetic.¹³ This is perhaps because their sympathy is expressed differently than where personal relations are in ascendancy. The city man may give liberally in support of a "cause," whereas, to a beggar on the street, he may turn a "cold shoulder."¹⁴

It is said that the city man is more individualistic than the rural man. This is true in the sense that the urbanite is more free from personal restraint. He escapes from the local folkways and mores and the gossip of the small town. In another sense, however, he is more social than the ruralite. He co-operates in large undertakings, as in providing parks, playgrounds, pavement of streets, public health projects, sewage disposal, etc. The

¹²Pitirim Sorokin and C. C. Zimmerman, Principles of Rural-Urban Sociology (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1929), pp. 51-52.

¹³Cf. Anderson and Lindeman, Urban Sociology, pp. 211-12.

¹⁴Cf. Gist and Halbert, op. cit., p. 322.

rural man insists upon carrying these functions as an individual, partly because the need is not so great for co-operation, but also because of his attitudes and habits.¹⁵

The city man becomes conditioned to change; it is taking place around him all the time. Nothing appears the same today as it was yesterday. So he is likely to be more liberal toward new ideas or movements than is the rural man, who is closer to nature and nature does not appear to be speeded up as is the man-made world of the city. "Libertarian movements, movements of emancipation which challenge custom and tradition, usually arise in cities, and are frequently combatted as evil by the rural population."¹⁶

The city man is regulated by the clock, and this would seem to be symbolical of city life in general. City life seems to function as one great machine which is geared to the clock. The movement of people to and from work, to places of amusement and entertainment, to shopping centers, takes place at certain periods. This tends to give the city man an impression that everything is regulated and controlled and that the control lies in man's hands and not nature's. The city man is, therefore, likely to appear rational in what he does and thinks. The seasons and the rising and setting sun guide the time movements of rural people. Much of the environment of the ruralite, especially the farmer, is beyond the control of man. The rains come or not, depending upon nature; a hard winter freeze may destroy next year's grain crop; or the lack of freezing weather may permit destructive insects to increase. All of this uncertainty is conducive to irrational thinking and supernaturalism.¹⁷

The feeling, by the city man, that everything is controlled and regulated by man himself leads to another trait of personality—that of sophistication. Through mechanized and institutional-

¹⁵Cf. ibid., p. 321. Cf. Zorbaugh, The Gold Coast and the Slum, p. 128.

¹⁶Anderson and Lindeman, op. cit., p. 227.

¹⁷It is not assumed that the rural dweller is entirely irrational and the urban dweller is rational in all situations. We are thinking here in terms of the larger aspects of the problem. It would appear that irrationality in the form of magic and superstition exist in situations where man's environment is beyond his control. Magic and superstition are very common among primitive people and also their environment is very much beyond their control. We find in the great city many people with a highly emotionalized religion. They are likely to be people, however, who have failed to adjust to city environment.

ized forms of communication such as newspapers, books, moving pictures, theaters, museums, art galleries, etc., he is likely to pick up much information; superficial though it may be, it gives him the feeling and others the impression that he possesses a wealth of knowledge sufficient to meet any situation. Thus the blasé, urbane, sophisticated traits of the city man. The ruralite, on the other hand, appears ignorant of much that is common knowledge in cities. This is perhaps why he has developed a feeling of inferiority when in contact with the city man and the reason for certain epithets such as "clodhopper" and "hayseed" being cast at him by the city dweller. The ruralite, therefore, may be characterized as naive when compared with the sophisticated urban dweller.

The suggestion above, that much of the knowledge of the city man may be superficial, points to another one of his traits—that of external appearances or "front" as expressed through style, manners, and fashions. This could well be expected in a depersonalized world like the city. In rural districts a man may be known for his personal qualities but in the city only the surface shows, therefore the city man tries to make the best of external appearances.¹⁸

Anderson and Lindeman have suggested that there is no urban personality but that there are urban personalities.¹⁹ This, of course, is what one finds when the city is thoroughly analyzed. This we plan to do next. Suffice it to say here that, even though personalities do vary from area to area and from occupation to occupation, they are in striking contrast to rural personalities and have distinctive traits that set them apart.

In a previous chapter of this study we showed that the city may be divided, by a series of concentric circles, into five zones.²⁰ Life in these zones produces various types of personality.²¹ The area in transition is the habitat of the hobo, the bohemian, and the rooming house type. Each of these types is characterized by extreme individualism and freedom, freedom from

¹⁸Cf. Norman S. Hayner, "Hotel Life and Personality," American Journal of Sociology, XXXIII (March, 1928), 789.

¹⁹Op. cit., p. 234.

²⁰See supra, Chap. II. The zones are as follows: I. The retail business center; II. The zone in transition; III. The zone of workingmen's homes; IV. The residential zone; V. The commuter's zone.

²¹Cf. Burgess, Mental Hygiene, XIV, 314.

the folkways and mores of the primary group.²² Here also we find the various criminal types, the prostitutes, the ne'er-do-wells, and the first immigrant settlers, the latter possessing naive rural habits and attitudes which unfit them for urban life.

In the third zone, that of the working men's homes, we find the second immigrant settlement. They are better accommodated to life in the city than are those in the first settlement but still retain many of the old world traits and characteristics. Their work, which is largely shop and factory occupations, sets them apart from the neatly dressed "white collar" workers from other sections. The more thrifty and successful move on to the fourth or residential zone.

In the residential zone we find a more stable population than in the other zones discussed. The inhabitants are made up of the more economically successful individuals, largely American born. Here we find the apartment house, the apartment hotel, and the single family dwelling. In each of these types of dwellings we find a different type of urban personality. In the single family home we find the middle class business or professional man, usually with children. This type shows an adjustment somewhere between the small-town type and the type in the congested areas of the city. He wishes to have access to the city and still have the advantages of a single home with a yard and trees. The rate of home ownership is high in this area for a city and therefore the degree of stability is higher. Much more mobility exists in the apartment-house area and still more in the area of apartment hotels. The apartment houses and the apartment hotels house all of those from the middle class up to and including the very wealthy. These range all the way from the average city dweller, the urbanite, up to the man of the world, the cosmopolite.²³ The types found in the hotel have been described by Hayner:

"On the basis of the foregoing analysis four types of personality patterns seem to be distinguishable. In some cases a restless, lonesome unhappy state of mind is the result. Such a person finds it difficult to adjust himself and satisfy his wishes in the anonymous, impersonal atmosphere of the hotel and may never be able to do so. The second type is perhaps best described by the term 'individuation,' i.e., free play of impulses when released from restraint. The resulting behavior ranges in nature from a mere 'good time' to an explosive 'blowout.' The third pattern represents a response to the stimulations and excitements that tend to be associated

²²Cf. Zorbaugh, The Gold Coast and the Slum, p. 128.

²³See Conway, op. cit., pp. 143 ff.

with life in a hotel. The personalities in this group tend to be blasé and over-stimulated; ennui and 'blank faces' are characteristic. The tendency seems to be, however, toward the development of immunity to the influences of the hotel environment, and this accommodation is best described as sophistication or urbanity. Thus, after long experience with hotels, the individual may become so accustomed to this environment that he may feel that his 'real home' is a hotel."²⁴

The population of the last zone may be divided into commuters and non-commuters. The commuters are those who combine the advantages of a rural home with those of the city. Many of the inhabitants are wealthy business or professional "men of the world." The non-commuters are made up of servants, trades people, and laborers, each type living in the area because of the service it performs for the wealthy and more successful commuters. The contacts between the commuters and non-commuters are made upon a symbiotic relationship only; "social" functions as well as their areas of residence are segregated.

The city grows from the inner zones outward. The populations of each zone tend to push outward, thus disturbing the equilibrium of each succeeding zone.²⁵ This movement we have called mobility. Mobility is an important force in the formation of personality for it prevents primary group relationships from being formed and thus the accompanying personality types.²⁶ The custom-bound, conservative, locally-attached persons of the primary group controlled areas find no place in the city, except, perhaps, among the first immigrant settlements, and, as we have seen, these are poorly adjusted to city life. In the place of the primary group types in the city we find free, liberal, rational, adaptable types of personality.

In Chapter II we found that Hyde Park was a residential area of the apartment and apartment hotel type. We found that the population was quite highly homogeneous in culture for a city community but when compared with a rural community was very heterogeneous. In economic status the people rank in the upper middle class. The community we found was highly professionalized; many prominent business and professional men of Chicago, the state, and nation reside there, although most of their places of employment

²⁴Op. cit., p. 795.

²⁵This process is known as the process of succession. See, Burgess, "The Growth of the City," in Park and Burgess, The City, p. 50.

²⁶Cf. Strow, op. cit., p. 93. Cf. Carpenter, op. cit., p. 205.

are elsewhere. The condition causing the largest amount of cultural conflict was the movement of Jews into Hyde Park. We saw that Hyde Park had a disintegrated area along its main business street, not a slum by any means when compared with areas in the zone of transition but still a slum, perhaps, when compared with the areas lying farther back from this street. We saw that the community had a high rate of mobility.

What types of personality are produced in the type of community represented by Hyde Park? We can indicate only some of the more general types. The Jews are those who are moving outward from the Ghetto and second settlements nearer the center of the city. They are trying to escape from the old world culture. Many of them are either abandoning their own religion or seeking it in a much modified form from that of the orthodox synagogue. We might call him the emancipated Jewish type.²⁷ Hyde Park has many of the "man of the world" type, or cosmopolite, represented by prominent doctors, lawyers, railroad officials, etc. The small business or professional man who has his interests centered largely in the city of Chicago and who is thoroughly adjusted to city life we may call the urbanite. Hyde Park, being an old village before its admission to Chicago, has retained many of the old residents. Many of these old residents have adjusted themselves to city life; others who have failed to adjust look back to the "good old days" of village life. They are dissatisfied with the city but for some reason are unable to move to more agreeable surroundings. In this sense they are marooned families. They may be indicated as the village type.²⁸ The disorganized charity and delinquent cases along the business interstitial zone may be classed as the socially rejected type.²⁹

We saw in Chapter III that the rural type of neighborhood, or that of the primary group formed upon a basis of proximity, has disappeared in the large city. The neighborhoods in the city are little more than ecological areas and the inhabitants live together more on a basis of symbiosis than that of intimacy. We saw in Hyde Park, our special area of study, that where neighborly contacts were made by adults they were aided by other factors such as occupations and institutions rather than proximity. Even then the areas over which intimacy was formed were much smaller than rural neighborhoods. We saw that the only real neighbors in the city are the small children and their mothers.

²⁷Cf. Wirth, The Ghetto, Chap. XII.

²⁸Cf. Conway, op. cit., pp. 143 ff.

²⁹Cf. Anderson and Lindeman, op. cit., p. 256.

What are some of the relations between this neighborhood situation in the city and personality? The child's first group is the family. In a few years he extends his contacts to the local neighborhood. During these early years he is likely to be little different from a child in rural areas. He acquires the habits and attitudes of these small primary groups and knows little of the larger world of adults. During the period he is likely to remain naïve. Soon, however, he has contacts with the institutions of the community and with these a wider contact with people. It is at this point that he begins to acquire knowledge and experiences not available to the rural child. By the time he reaches high school he has lost many of his neighborhood interests and has taken on those of the community and city. When he enters an occupation and seeks a home of his own he is likely to become entirely detached from the local neighborhood. If his occupation happens to be highly specialized, his detachment and sophistication are more complete. It is only in the case of the mother that there is a return to neighborhood interests and this is because she is most concerned with the children, who are attached to local interests, and because of the lack of a specialized occupation in her case. If, as Cooley has said, the primary group is the source of human nature, then the small child neighborhoods in the city should be quite significant in forming habits and attitudes that affect personality.³⁰ Shaw has shown this to be true, for he says that to understand delinquency we must understand neighborhood and community backgrounds.³¹ This is also the contention of Thrasher.³²

The various institutions of the community bring the child into formal contact with adults and other children outside his family.³³ Out of these formal contacts grow many friendship groups. These friendship groups are important in personality formation. In rural areas the institutions and families of the community are likely to be in agreement on most questions, so the morality of the child will develop along the line sanctioned by the larger group. This is less true in the city, for the families may have divergent moral codes, as may also the institutions. Conflicts are likely to result which may confuse and demoralize the child. The child is therefore placed more upon his own responsi-

³⁰Cooley, Social Organization, p. 24.

³¹Shaw, Delinquency Areas, p. 9. Cf. Nelson, op. cit., p. 303.

³²Thrasher, Journal of Educational Sociology, VII, 470-84. Cf. Young, Social Psychology, Chap. XII.

³³See supra, Chap. IV.

bility to decide problems of conduct. In well organized communities with stable family life the results are not likely to be harmful; in fact, stable personality types may develop out of the situation, for the child learns to depend upon his own decisions. In a disorganized community, however, his own decisions, without proper guidance from family and older friends, may lead to delinquency. We would say then that the city as compared with the rural area offers more opportunity for a variety of personality traits but at the same time more opportunity for unwholesome as well as wholesome personality.

The coming of the factory system has changed many of the former functions of the family.³⁴ The greatest amount of change has taken place in the large city. As in all cultural change, the material aspects of the family situation have changed first, leaving many of the old types of control. These types of control do not fit the new situation and thus the child is likely to be driven to other groups for sympathy and understanding, for example, the gang. The attention of the various members of the city family may be scattered by different occupational and leisure-time interests. Home duties and interests that once held the family together are lacking in the city, especially in the apartment hotel. The apartment family may remain isolated locally, especially if the family has no children. The type of family pattern varies in the city from zone to zone, the patterns ranging all the way from the emancipated family type through the paternalistic, the maternalistic, to the equalitarian.

The examination of two contrasting types of family in Hyde Park, an apartment house area with the equalitarian type of family, revealed some definite influences of family life upon the personality of the child.³⁵ Fundamental attitudes and habits are formed in the primary group. The family, since it has the control of the child during its most impressionable years, is especially important in this respect. In the unsuccessful type of family the habits and attitudes are those of conflict, antagonism, and resistance.³⁶ Friendship and sympathy are sought in other places. This may lead to delinquent gangs. There, the child intensifies his hatred for dominance and authority, the school, the law, the

³⁴See supra, Chap. V.

³⁵Cf. Young, Social Attitudes, p. 205. Cf. Reuter and Runner, The Family, pp. 308-10.

³⁶Cf. Karl Yu Su, "A Study of Personality Maladjustments in 1,800 Urban, Rural, and Delinquent Children," p. 10. Master's thesis, University of Chicago, 1933.

home. This produces a bitter, resentful personality that is very difficult to recondition to orderly society. The home, if it were wholesome, would be able to forestall this type of personality in many cases. The city, with its great mobility of population, its disintegrated neighborhoods, the changing occupations, etc., offers an opportunity for this type of family to develop. The great city, perhaps above all places, needs the wholesome type of family to bridge, for the child, these dangerous early years.

The change in our economic system from domestic economy to that of the factory system has been accompanied by a change in recreational activities.³⁷ This change has affected rural districts as well as the city but is very much more pronounced in the city. The tendency in the city is to use the whole city as a playground, not just the local neighborhood. This is more true for adults and older children than it is for the younger children. The family, the local neighborhood, and community are still largely the places for child recreation and that of the mother. The children form many informal play groups in the local neighborhood near the home. These informal primary groups have important influences upon the character and personality of the child.³⁸ The analysis and comparison of the leisure-time activities of children in an apartment house area in the city with those of children in a rural town show that more home duties are common in the small town. This might be expected in a community of single homes and less modern conveniences. Children in the city have less opportunity for training within the home under the control of parents. Girls have a better opportunity for this type of home training than do boys. The boy's time is taken up with work under the control of others or in leisure-time pursuits. In both communities games take a prominent place. Games promote primary group contacts among children of all ages. The child learns to adjust himself to others. Playing near home is more common in the city than in the rural district. This is what we would expect from our earlier discussion of the urban neighborhood as a very small area.

Nearly half the activities presented for the city community involve association with others. Most of these contacts involve relatives or friends. Most of the friends are children of like ages. This situation makes for primary group contacts and control that is a very strong influence upon the character and personality of the children. In disintegrated communities these informal groups may develop into gangs and delinquency, but in a

³⁷See supra, Chap. VI.

³⁸Cf. Young, Social Psychology, p. 255.

community like Hyde Park where the family and home life are relatively stable, gangs and delinquency are at a minimum and the personalities of the children are developed in a comparatively wholesome manner.

Apparently the child is influenced by many forces in the modern world. Among these are the forces urging him to choose certain occupations.³⁹ Formerly he chose his life's work under the direct and almost complete control of his parents. Today with the growth of the city and the factory system with its intricate divisions of labor and the demand for specialization, much of the old parental influence has disappeared. This is true even in rural areas, where the influences of the modern industrial system have not failed to reach. However, the influences are not as marked as in the modern city. The modern city shows variations in parental influence from one area to another. It looks as though the different communities set different standards of aspiration in occupational ambitions. Modern parents in America have apparently lost another important influence, as a primary group, to the larger and more formal organization of our social and economic system. The effect of this change upon personality may perhaps best be expressed by saying that it is only one of the movements in the large city toward the emancipation of the individual from the local informal controls.⁴⁰

Although the city is the environment of secondary groups, it also has many primary groups, such as those in the family, occupations, and in children's play activities. The tendency of these two types of control, which we may call formal and informal, is to form habits and attitudes in the individual when he comes under their respective influences.⁴¹ The tendency for these habits and attitudes, once formed under the influence of informal groups, is to resist the control under formal groups such as institutions. These conflicts between formal and informal control are more common in cities than in the country because of the multiplicity of formal contacts found in the city. Conflicts of this type are common in the city between the home, the child's play groups, and other primary groups on the one hand, and the school, church, the state, municipal authority, etc., on the other. For example, conflicts between formal and informal control result in high school between the rules and regulations of the school and the primary group influences of the home and children's informal

³⁹See supra, Chap. VII. Cf. Woolston, op. cit., p. 609.

⁴⁰Cf. Young, Social Psychology, p. 319.

⁴¹See supra, Chap. VIII.

contacts. The result is that the informal control usually counteracts the rules and regulations or forms attitudes that determine future behavior in opposition to the intent of the rule or regulation.

What is the effect of such situations upon personality? Perhaps the most injurious aspect is the deception involved. Such situations cause the individual to resent all formal control in later life, and in the city where so much formal control is required, it makes for an attitude of disrespect toward all law. The children may get an attitude that all laws are made to be broken. It is perhaps true that unnecessary laws are made, but, after all, the only way to control the complex situation in the large city is by building attitudes of respect into the individual's mind toward formal control. This is especially important during the child's early years.

If the city continues along its present trend toward greater complexity of life as expressed through further division of labor and greater specialization of occupations accompanied by competition, conflict, and segregation, we may expect a further trend toward more and more types of personality. The city will continue to have its primary groups in the family and the play groups of children, but for adults this type of contact will be made through interests such as through occupations, leisure-time interests, etc., rather than through proximity as in rural areas. It is very doubtful if the "back to the neighborhood" movement will gain much headway in the large city. If we are to solve most of the problems of urban life, we must first understand the nature of life in the city. This can come best through social research.

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APPENDIX A

In some of the tables in the main body of this thesis, it was impossible to give the numbers on which the percentages were based without overcrowding the table and at the same time detracting from the utility of the table in making comparisons. It was, therefore, decided to place the whole numbers in additional tables to be included in this section of the appendix. The tables following are arranged on the same plan as those in the body of the paper. Anyone wishing the whole numbers may readily locate them as follows:

<u>Thesis Table</u>			<u>Appendix Table</u>
II	corresponds to		A and B
VI	"	"	C
VII	"	"	D
VIII	"	"	E
IX	"	"	F
X	"	"	G
XI	"	"	H
XII	"	"	I
XIII	"	"	J

TABLE A

POPULATION BY COLOR, NATIVITY, SEX, AND AGE
FOR UNITED STATES AND CHICAGO, 1930*

	United States	Chicago
Total Population	122,775,046	3,376,438
Native White	95,497,800	2,275,674
Native Parentage	70,136,614	943,301
Foreign or Mixed Parentage . . .	25,361,186	1,332,373
Foreign-born White	13,366,047	842,057
Negro	11,891,143	232,903
Other Races	2,019,696	24,804
Age Distribution		
Under 15 years	36,056,876	813,542
15 to 19 years	11,552,115	292,575
20 to 34 years	29,824,407	964,338
35 to 44 years	17,198,840	583,048
45 years and over	28,048,786	718,821
Unknown	94,022	4,114

*U. S. Bureau of Census, 1930.

TABLE B

POPULATION BY COLOR, NATIVITY, SEX, AND AGE FOR HYDE PARK,
SOUTH SHORE, NEW CITY, AND NEAR NORTH SIDE, 1930*

	Hyde Park	South Shore	New City	Near North Side
Total Population	48,017	78,755	87,103	79,554
Native White	37,532	65,468	59,366	53,524
Native Parentage	21,806	37,421	16,028	28,468
Foreign or Mixed Parentage . . .	15,726	28,047	43,338	25,056
Foreign-born White	9,666	13,070	25,500	20,976
Negro	521	171	79	4,231
Other Races	298	46	2,158	823
Age Distribution				
Under 15 years	6,764	14,627	28,560	12,793
15 to 19 years	2,889	5,202	9,518	5,085
20 to 34 years	5,639	24,185	20,442	24,985

TABLE B (Continued)

	Hyde Park	South Shore	New City	Near North Side
35 to 44 years	8,197	14,530	14,232	14,860
45 years and over	14,472	20,171	14,336	21,100
Unknown	56	40	15	731

*U. S. Bureau of Census, 1930.

TABLE C

GAINFULLY OCCUPIED MALES 10 YEARS OF AGE AND OLDER
BY GENERAL DIVISIONS OF OCCUPATIONS FOR CHICAGO
AND SELECTED COMMUNITIES, 1930*

	Chicago	Hyde Park	South Shore	New City	Near North Side
All Industries	1,115,211	15,973	26,081	27,342	32,292
Manufacturing & Mechanical Industries	516,530	3,583	8,263	14,265	10,722
Transportation & Communi- cation	152,358	1,488	2,946	3,556	3,037
Trade	267,536	6,060	9,781	6,157	7,468
Public Service	28,518	380	723	949	733
Professional Service . . .	59,355	2,612	2,528	516	3,112
Domestic & Personal Ser- vice	84,608	1,643	1,482	889	5,599
Industries not specified .	37,481	155	281	885	1,421

*U. S. Bureau of Census, 1930.

TABLE D

GAINFULLY OCCUPIED FEMALES 10 YEARS OF AGE AND OLDER
BY GENERAL DIVISIONS OF OCCUPATIONS FOR CHICAGO
AND SELECTED COMMUNITIES, 1930*

	Chicago	Hyde Park	South Shore	New City	Near North Side
All Industries	407,738	9,204	10,611	8,120	15,536
Manufacturing & Mechanical In- dustries	108,421	1,095	1,608	3,371	2,959
Transportation & Communication	28,131	358	922	637	454
Trade	92,990	2,161	3,144	1,923	2,585
Public Service	2,865	100	134	57	95
Professional Service	52,116	2,536	2,249	658	2,750
Domestic & Personal Service .	102,640	2,789	2,326	1,159	6,125
Industries not specified . . .	20,351	163	217	305	562

*U. S. Bureau of Census, 1930.

TABLE E

POPULATION BY COLOR AND NATIVITY FOR HYDE PARK
AND ECOLOGICAL NEIGHBORHOODS, 1930*

	Total Popula- tion	Native White, Native Parentage	Native White, Foreign or Mixed Parentage	Foreign- born White	All Others
Hyde Park	48,017	21,806	15,726	9,666	819
Boulevard Area	4,136	1,588	1,650	860	38
Hotel Coast	11,551	5,296	4,145	2,002	108
Kozminski	5,432	1,695	2,107	1,585	45
Ray	14,020	6,478	4,504	2,865	173
West University	4,131	1,694	1,305	924	208
East University	8,747	5,055	2,015	1,430	247

*U. S. Bureau of Census, 1930.

TABLE F

POPULATION BY COLOR AND NATIVITY FOR HYDE PARK
AND ECOLOGICAL NEIGHBORHOODS, 1934*

	All Classes	Native White, Native Parentage	Native White, Foreign or Mixed Parentage	Foreign- born White	Negro	Other Races
Hyde Park . . .	43,258	22,247	14,075	6,386	420	130
Boulevard Area	3,893	1,827	1,472	574	19	1
Hotel Coast . .	9,826	5,222	3,411	1,136	50	7
Kozminski . . .	5,380	2,124	2,227	982	47	0
Ray	12,987	6,808	4,150	1,900	88	41
West University	3,647	1,748	1,126	661	70	42
East University	7,525	4,518	1,689	1,133	146	39

*U. S. Bureau of Census, 1934.

TABLE G

GAINFULLY OCCUPIED MALES 10 YEARS OF AGE AND OLDER BY
GENERAL DIVISIONS OF OCCUPATIONS FOR HYDE PARK
AND ECOLOGICAL NEIGHBORHOODS, 1930*

	Hyde Park	Ecological Neighborhoods					
		Boule- vard Area	Hotel Coast	Koz- min- ski	Ray	West Uni- ver- sity	East Uni- ver- sity
All Industries . . .	15,973	1,257	3,997	1,789	4,912	1,369	2,649
Manufacturing & Me- chanical Industries	3,583	297	852	362	1,197	346	529
Transportation & Com- munication	1,488	48	198	216	527	215	284
Trade	6,060	638	1,841	789	1,784	331	677
Public Service . . .	380	20	78	51	125	62	44
Professional Service	2,612	150	631	180	638	231	782
Domestic & Personal Service	1,643	91	353	172	579	165	283
Not specified	207	13	44	19	62	19	50

*U. S. Bureau of Census, 1930.

TABLE H

GAINFULLY OCCUPIED FEMALES 10 YEARS OF AGE AND OLDER BY
GENERAL DIVISIONS OF OCCUPATIONS FOR HYDE PARK
AND ECOLOGICAL NEIGHBORHOODS, 1930*

	Hyde Park	Ecological Neighborhoods					
		Boule- vard Area	Hotel Coast	Koz- min- ski	Ray	West Uni- ver- sity	East Uni- ver- sity
All Industries	9,204	846	2,548	701	2,563	583	1,963
Manufacturing & Mechanical Industries	1,095	88	257	106	369	82	193
Transportation & Communication	358	25	92	36	109	27	69
Trade	2,161	181	611	234	708	120	307
Public Service	100	4	23	5	37	12	17
Professional Service	2,536	156	695	149	614	199	723
Domestic & Personal Service	2,789	384	828	156	658	136	627
Industries not specified	165	8	40	15	68	7	27

*U. S. Bureau of Census, 1930.

TABLE I

HOMES BY TENURE FOR HYDE PARK AND
ECOLOGICAL NEIGHBORHOODS, 1930*

	Total Homes	Owned Homes	Rented Homes	Tenure Unknown
Hyde Park	13,950	1,478	12,436	36
Boulevard Area	1,275	84	1,190	1
Hotel Coast	3,607	276	3,316	15
Kozminski	1,510	143	1,366	1
Ray	4,098	446	3,648	4
West University	1,100	127	967	6
East University	2,360	402	1,949	9

*U. S. Bureau of Census, 1930.

TABLE J

FAMILIES BY LENGTH OF RESIDENCE FOR HYDE PARK
AND ECOLOGICAL NEIGHBORHOODS, 1934*

	Hyde Park	Ecological Neighborhoods					
		Boule- vard Area	Hotel Coast	Koz- min- ski	Ray	West Uni- ver- sity	East Uni- ver- sity
Total Families . . .	13,028	1,215	3,240	1,458	4,022	1,056	2,037
Length of Residence							
Under 4 mos. . . .	1,682	124	433	171	597	107	250
4 mos. - 11 mos. .	2,773	279	575	372	868	280	399
12 mos. - 23 mos. .	1,891	191	477	222	643	122	236
2 yrs. - 2 $\frac{11}{12}$ yrs.	1,509	160	432	154	437	109	217
3 yrs. - 3 $\frac{11}{12}$ yrs.	970	80	276	118	268	80	148
4 yrs. - 4 $\frac{11}{12}$ yrs.	639	71	160	60	182	64	102
5 yrs. - 9 yrs. . .	2,037	196	615	215	533	146	332
10 yrs. and over . .	1,527	114	272	146	494	148	353
Unknown							

*U. S. Bureau of Census, 1934.

TABLE K

FAMILIES BY KIND OF DWELLINGS FOR HYDE PARK
AND ECOLOGICAL NEIGHBORHOODS, 1934*

	Total Fami- lies	Kind of Dwelling					
		One Family and Row	Two Family and Double	Three Family	Multi- family	Hotels and Apart- ment Hotels	All Others
Hyde Park . . .	13,028	903	429	370	7,569	2,608	1,149
Boulevard Area	1,215	61	22	37	674	341	80
Hotel Coast . .	3,240	74	20	45	1,655	1,268	178

TABLE K (Continued)

	Total Fami- lies	Kind of Dwelling					
		One Family and Row	Two Family and Double	Three Family	Multi- family	Hotels and Apart- ment Hotels	All Others
Kozminski . . .	1,458	79	95	36	1,130	44	74
Ray	4,022	367	120	124	2,355	708	348
West University	1,056	65	99	87	712	2	91
East University	2,037	257	73	41	1,043	245	378

*U. S. Bureau of Census, 1934.

TABLE L

FAMILIES BY KIND OF DWELLINGS BY PERCENTAGES FOR HYDE
PARK AND ECOLOGICAL NEIGHBORHOODS, 1934

	Total Fami- lies	Kind of Dwelling					
		One Family and Row	Two Family and Double	Three Family	Multi- family	Hotels and Apart- ment Hotels	All Others
Hyde Park . . .	100.0	6.9	3.3	2.8	58.1	20.0	8.8
Boulevard Area	100.0	5.0	1.8	3.0	55.5	28.1	6.6
Hotel Coast . .	100.0	2.3	0.6	1.4	51.1	39.1	5.5
Kozminski . . .	100.0	5.4	6.5	2.5	77.5	3.0	5.1
Ray	100.0	9.1	3.0	3.1	58.6	17.6	8.7
West University	100.0	6.2	9.4	8.2	67.4	0.2	8.6
East University	100.0	12.6	3.6	2.0	51.2	12.0	18.6

APPENDIX B

Two of the techniques used in obtaining data for this study deserve more detailed consideration than was possible in the body of the paper. These will be explained at this point.

I. Family Interviews

The process of selecting the wholesome families for interview was explained in Chapter V.¹ During the interview a schedule was used. This schedule was not followed rigidly but was used to suggest the field to be covered. The chief interest was in family control or home training. A copy of the schedule used follows:

Family Control

History and Associations

1. Name of child _____ School _____
2. Place of Birth _____ Date _____
3. Places of residence since _____
4. Brothers and Sisters _____ Ages _____
5. Health _____
6. Pre-School Playmates _____
 - a. One or Several _____ Ages _____ Sex _____
 - b. Where met _____
 - c. What extent with adults _____
7. School-Age Playmates _____
 - a. Changes _____
 - b. Desirable or Undesirable _____
8. His membership in groups outside family:

Group	No. of Members	Their Ages	His Age	Duration
a.	_____	_____	_____	_____
b.	_____	_____	_____	_____
c.	_____	_____	_____	_____
9. Did he have any trouble or difficulty in his group? _____
10. What early interests did he show? _____
Ambitions _____
11. Is child timid, bold, bashful, etc.? _____

¹See supra, footnote 22, p. 85.

12. What activities did the child get the most pleasure out of in pre-school period? _____

Later _____
13. What problems of control have occurred in child's pre-school life? _____

Later Life _____
14. What methods of control did you use (punishment, "lectures," sympathy, persuasion, ridicule, etc.)? _____

15. Did these succeed or fail? _____

16. Have you changed methods at different ages? _____

17. How have these methods affected the child? _____

18. Did one parent ever take the child's part when the other was controlling? _____
19. Was control left largely to one parent? _____

20. Was child teased? _____ By whom? _____
21. Does child have home duties? _____

22. At what age was the child the greatest difficulty? _____
Why? _____
23. Were parent difficulties or conflicts discussed in the child's presence? _____
24. What fears has the child? _____

II. Children's Occupations and Interests

The children in the upper grades of the Kozminski School in Hyde Park and the Seward School in New City were asked to write three paragraphs according to the following instructions:

A Composition About Myself

- I. In a paragraph using sentences, give the following facts—your name, age, grade, the different schools you have attended, and your street and number. Give the street numbers or the names of other places where you have lived. In what occupation or employment is your father? Your mother? Where is your father's business or work located? Your mother's?

- II. In a second paragraph, tell what you want to be or do for your life's occupation. Tell why you want to be or do this particular thing. What are some occupations you would not like to follow? Why?
- III. Do you like or dislike the neighborhood where you live now? Tell why. How far from your home do your best friends live? What do you and your best friends like to do when together?

Data from these papers were used in Chapters II, III, and VII. On the whole, the material seemed very valuable for information upon mobility, occupations of parents, occupational attitudes of children, and attachment for neighborhoods.

